Famous Sermons

Edited by

Douglas Macleane

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FAMOUS SERMONS

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FAMOUS SPEECHES

SELECTED AND EDITED WITH INTRODUCTORY NOTES

BY

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AUTHOR OF "LIFE OF FROUDE"

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FAMOUS SERMONS

BY ENGLISH PREACHERS

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTORY NOTES

BY

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INTRODUCTION

WHAT makes a famous sermon ? Either some historic circumstance or result connected with it, or else some quality in itself of unusual eloquence or spiritual power. In the present volume the aim is to present examples of both kinds of remarkable sermon. Thus, Bishop Hoadly's belongs to the former class only—it had important political consequences, but has no particular literary value—while Donne's discourse on the Peril of Damnation and Dr. Liddon's sermon called " Five Minutes after Death " are read purely as masterpieces of eloquent reasoning. On the other hand, Newman's " Parting of Friends " is both an exquisite threnody and a landmark in English ecclesiastical history. Most of the sermons in this volume, however, have been chosen on account of something which gives them a permanent interest in the eyes of the historian, or as representative of an epoch. Except the first one, they were all preached in English.

It will certainly be asked why these are printed here and not others. I fear many readers will be vexed to find that some favourite sermon is not included in the list. It can only be replied that a volume has limits, and that the most admired sermons are usually the ones that are already on our shelves. For the same reason, and because of restrictions of copyright, modern preachers have been but slightly drawn upon for this collection. Should it find a welcome from the public, the publishers hope to add a second series. Such a series might, perhaps, include Swift's homily on Sleeping in Church. A correspondent suggests to me that Ridley's funeral oration on the death of Francis I, the repressor of Protestantism, would be a curiosity, if extant. An historically important sermon, of which only one or two copies are known to exist, is Beveridge's " Salvation in the Church only, under the Sacred Ministry,"

preached in Latin before the Convocation of Canterbury, which practically killed the Plan of Comprehension and Prayer Book revision scheme of 1689.

Sermons that mould history, epoch-making deliverances, are probably of the past. For while niggling pulpit politics are deservedly resented, killing the spiritual life of communities which resort to them, the great prophetic preaching which shakes not only consciences but realms needs the evangelic trumpet of a St. Bernard,[1] a Savonarola or a Massillon on the one hand, and a listening nation on the other. "The age of the pulpit has gone by," not indeed for pastoral purposes, but certainly as an engine of national, or even of ecclesiastical, conflict. A truly national Church is a Church whose life and thought are interwoven with the life of the people to which God has given it for a guide, yet are also above and outside it. In the closing eighteenth century Sydney Smith asserted that the clergy of England had no more influence over the people at large than the cheesemongers of England. If so, it was not because clerical ideas were too greatly detached from those of the average Briton—never was the assimilation closer—but because they had too little that was unearthly. "Is it a wonder," asked Sydney Smith, "that every semi-delirious sectary, who pours forth his animated nonsense with the genuine look of passion, should gesticulate away the congregation of the most profound and learned divine of the Established Church, and in two Sundays preach him bare to the very sexton?" Naturalness, he declared, was what was lacking in the clergy. Was it not rather super-naturalness? They seemed to bring no message from another world. Fashions of thought have altered since 1800, but the very last way to recover the position of national leadership would be for the Church to preach down to the topics of the hour and the earthly pre-occupations of mankind. "For

[1] While he was preaching the Second Crusade, a sermon of Bernard's, at Spires, moved the Emperor Conrad to place himself at the head of the Red Cross knights.

God's sake," cried Archbishop Leighton, " when all my brethren preach to the times, suffer one poor priest to preach about eternity." Deep calleth unto deep. *Cor ad cor loquitur.*

The pulpit was once what the press is to-day. The topical sermon was succeeded by the pamphlet, and the pamphlet by the leading article, and the leading article by the platform speech, disseminated everywhere. Governments, which forty years ago tried to have journalists at their call, relied during the eighteenth century on pamphleteers, and before that tuned pulpits. The part played in the struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Paul's Cross, by the Spital Sermons,[1] by Greenwich, St. James's or Whitehall preachers, and the like, was immense. Another powerful instrument for influencing educated thought was the University pulpit. Our forefathers seldom halted between two opinions. What Hearne two centuries ago denounced as the trimming party-per-pale sermon, half Whig and half Tory, had hardly been, at an earlier date, a common phenomenon. A preacher might change sides, burn that which he had adored and adore that which he had burned, but he seldom saw more than one side at a time. And coupled with this simplicity of view went an amazing directness of speech and outspokenness of address, undeterred by the threatening interruptions of a riotous rabble or the " Stick to your text, Mr. Dean," of an angry Queen. At Mary's obsequies Bishop White declared Mary to have chosen the good part, but then " *canis vivus* [Elizabeth] *melior est leone mortuo.*" A demagogue like Fitzosbert in Richard I's time found an unrestricted rostrum in the outdoor pulpit of St. Paul's, and when Latimer would counsel Edward VI on the choice of a consort he did it *coram populo* in an open-air sermon before the Court. The question of Henry VIII's

[1] In the churchyard of the old Priory and Hospital at Bethnal Green, called St. Mary Spital, stood anciently a pulpit-cross in which some prelate or other learned doctor preached on three days in Easter week. The pulpit was destroyed by Cromwellian hands, but the Spital Sermon is still preached at Christ Church, Newgate Street, the old Greyfriars.

divorce, of the supremacy and of ceremonies, was agitated in the most unreserved and plain-spoken manner by public preachers on both sides, and the whole course of the Reformation might be read in the Paul's Cross or other preachings of the day, in which men like Forrest, Bourne, Cole and Bonner —to whom, by the by, we owe the noble Homily on Charity— were opposed to antagonists such as Ridley, Cranmer, Barnes or Jewel.[1] Sometimes the occasion was an *auto-da-fé*, as when Latimer preached at Friar Forrest's burning, Shaxton at Anne Askew's, or Cole—for two weary hours—before Cranmer's. Or it might be some momentous occasion, such as Cardinal Pole's solemn reconciliation of England to the Holy See, when Gardiner preached on the text, "Brethren, now is the time to awake from sleep."

In Scotland the long-winded pulpiteers crossed the t's of their references to public affairs so decisively that King James VI prayed on his knees before every sermon that he might hear nothing to grieve him. When he came to England as James I he found he could pray for edification. Yet there were still history-making sermons preached there also, such as those of Bilson and Bancroft, of Sibthorp and Manwaring. Life seemed to men so homogeneous that politics and faith were indistinguishable. Such conditions can hardly recur. Even from university pulpits[2] the latter-day sermon, addressed to a non-ecclesiastical auditory, is apt to be academic, neutral, undisturbing, and its wider circle of readers will usually be small. There is no gluttony for being preached to in our generation, which, as someone said, is indifferent whether a sermon be high, low or broad, if it be not long. "Liddon carried us up to

[1] But on Elizabeth's accession, "because the pulpits often serve as drums and fifes to inflame fury, proclamation was made that no man should preach but such as should be allowed by authority." Hayward, *Annals of Qu. Eliz.*, p. 5. The "drum ecclesiastick" was beaten loudly enough a century later.

[2] The old wooden pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, in which so many famous sermons were delivered between mid-Stuart days and the time of Keble and Newman, is now converted into the altar of Codford St. Mary Church, Wilts. It would be painful to enquire where other famous rostrums are. Few can have survived the Victorian "restorers."

heaven for an hour, and kept us there," said Archbishop Benson—indeed Dr. Liddon preached once for a hundred minutes. But most preachers are obliged to call their discourses " a few words " or a " simple talk." Barrow's sermon on the " King's Happy Return " is given in the present volume, but not all its 16,000 or more words, for who now is sufficient for these things ?

In the Reformation era, in England as in France, *la prêche* and *la messe* were party badges. But the English puritans set preaching over against Bible-reading also. Hooker[1] defends the reading of lessons in church, and private study of the Divine oracles, against those who maintained that Holy Scripture, until it is " explained by a lively voice and applyed to the people's use as the speaker in his wisdom thinketh meet," is not the Word of God. It was held not only that in sermons Christ is lifted higher and more apparently to faith's eye, or that the savour of the Word is more sweet being brayed and more able to nourish being preached, but that sermons are the only ordinary keys to the kingdom, and without them the Scriptures are a clasped book. Accordingly these people " fall upon their poor brethren which can but read, and against them are bitterly eloquent." Hooker in his stately way disproves at length the " superstitious and eye-darkening conceit " that preaching only has power to save. " We esteem it as the blessed ordinance of God, sermons as keys to the kingdom of heaven, as wings to the soul, as spurs to the good affections of man, unto the sound and healthy as food, as physick unto diseased minds." But he protests against the shutting up the sense of the word " preaching " in so close a prison, and the notion that " the chiefest cause of committing the Sacred Word of God unto books was lest the preacher should want a text whereon to scholy." " By means whereof it hath come to pass that churches which cannot enjoy the benefit of usual preaching are judged, as it were, even forsaken of God, forlorn and

[1] *Eccl. Pol. V*, §§ 21, 22.

without hope or comfort. Contrariwise, those places which every day for the most part are at sermons as the flowing sea, do both by their emptiness at times of reading and by other apparent tokens show to the voice of the living God, this way sounding in the ears of men, a great deal less reverence than were meet." Bishop Andrewes hit hard at mere "auricular profession." In a later age the Tractarians were somewhat disposed to disparage sermons, disliking emotionalism and the common overshadowing of the altar, the font, the lectern and the prayer-desk by the pulpit. And yet the puritan, or rather the quaker, contention that the written page of the Bible requires the living voice of the Spirit, mediated through holy minds, to quicken it and make it a sharp two-edged sword dividing the very hearts and reins—in other words, that the letter of Scripture needs a ghostly interpreter—pointed straight to the office of the Holy Catholic Church. And if there were many "dumb dogs" in the mediæval Church there were also the Preaching Orders, there were great expository teachers, and saintly voices whose call to repentance rang through the world.

The sermon openly read from manuscript does not seem to have come in till the later seventeenth century. Monmouth, as Chancellor of Cambridge University, issued an edict against written sermons. Preaching was then gathering formality and respectability round it. Pope speaks of Hoadly's immense "periods of a mile," and Burnet says that the hour-glass sermons of his day, with their languid and heavy first part, "flatted" the hearers and disposed them to slumber. In the older times winged words were interrupted by "hums" or even shoutings. Bourne, the first preacher at Paul's Cross under Mary, was assailed with cries of "He preacheth damnation; pull him down!" and a dagger whistled by his head. Latimer held that "a good preacher may declare the Word of God sitting on a horse or preaching in a tree." Hooker, however, so Gauden tells us, "dispensed the Gospel in a still voice

and silent gesture," making, says Fuller, "good musick with his fiddle and stick alone, without any rosin . . . Where his eye was left fixed at the beginning, it was found fixed at the end of his sermon." His sermons, Walton records, "were uttered with a grave zeal and humble voice, his eyes always fixt on one place to prevent his imagination from wandering, insomuch that he seemed to study as he spake." But clearly he did not read his sermons. Nor did that very lively preacher, Lancelot Andrewes, called "stella prædicantium," though his sermons were "thrice betwixt the hammer and the anvil" before being preached. Elizabeth said she liked "bosom-sermons" which "smelt of the candle." A century later a "smooth way of oratory," elegant, gentlemanly and polished, prevailed, and the great Tillotson, being one Sunday without his manuscript in a village church, floundered and broke down. In Jeremy Taylor's hands the sermon had become a piece of finished and delicate artistry, elaborately chased and gemmed, and South had some reason in contrasting St. Paul's words of soberness in preaching the Gospel with enticing descriptions of the fringes of the north star, the down of angels' wings, and a cloud rolling in its airy mansion. "The Apostles, poor mortals, were content to use a dialect which only pierced the conscience, and made the hearers cry out, 'Men and brethren, what shall we do?'" When men came from real sermons they never commended the preacher's talents, but spoke like those who are conquered by overpowering truth—"Did not our hearts burn within us while he opened to us the Scriptures?" It was said of Bossuet that his voice was like an echo from heaven. "Before going up into the pulpit," he wrote, "let us listen for the heavenly Master's voice and preach only what He tells us." "When I hear other preachers," said Louis XIV to Massillon, "I am well pleased with them; but when I hear you I go away displeased with myself."

The Church of England has not produced many preachers of sovereign rank. No one ever had the ear of London as

Bourdaloue and the great French orators had that of Paris. For one thing, Englishmen, though they will listen to a two-hour political speech or a long scientific lecture, have seldom enough theological interest to sit through an elaborated sermon. A speech is topical, and looks towards an immediate practical result. No one discourses on general principles of government. A speech is seldom isolated, but is part of a current controversy or movement, and has the zest of the arena. It helps to determine State or other affairs, whereas a sermon only determines character and thought. A speech, unlike a sermon, is usually reported, and reaches a wide circle. Oratory is essential to it, whereas St. Paul sent a hearer to sleep, and it is not certain that the tongue of angels would be plausively approved. Again, some of the best pulpit work is expository rather than hortative. There are likely, then, to be fewer famous sermons than famous speeches.

In spite of Burnet's opinion (mentioned above) of the ineffectiveness of leisurely concionation, it is said that his own "finally" was always unwelcome. Sir John Jekyl told Speaker Onslow that he was present when the bishop, having "preached out the hour-glass" but having more to say, held the sand-vessel up in his hand to the congregation, and then turned it for another hour, amid what was almost a shout of gladness. The temperate habits of the modern hearer of sermons shun the second glass, and to the reader also it will often appear that the half is more than the whole. Accordingly it has been necessary somewhat to abbreviate several of the earlier sermons in this volume.

FAMOUS SERMONS

THE VENERABLE BEDE (673-735)

ALMOST every Breviary contains extracts from this discourse of the Anglo-Saxon age for the lections of the All-Hallows festival. Dr. Neale, whose translation of the sermon is here given, calls it Beda's crowning glory, though Dr. J. A. Giles, in his *Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* (1843) considers it to be of that age only. It was preached, at any rate, within the first century of the evangelisation of Northumbria.

Bede's auditors were his brethren in the convent of St. Paul at Yarrow, men sequestered from the world. Monastic sermons, as a rule, were brief, tranquil and heavenly-minded. According to a quaint legend, Bede had on one occasion another kind of congregation. It is said that he became blind, and that the boy who guided his steps maliciously led him to a stony place and told him that many people were there, desirous to hear him. Accordingly he addressed a homily to the stones, which immediately cried out, when he ended, "Amen, Bede the venerable one." And thus he got his name. But a less grotesque version of this story makes the words to have been uttered by angels, in response to Bede's prayer at the close of his preaching—"Which may God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, vouchsafe to grant unto us."

When Bede lay dying, on the eve of the Ascension—the date in the kalendar is May 27—while urging his disciples to think upon their last hour he sang the words, choosing them for a text, "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." The sermon of Donne's which is given in this volume passed at its close from the same theme to the still

more awful thought how fearful a thing it were to fall out of God's hands. It was preached nearly a thousand years later. But the Gospel does not change with the mutation of times. Samuel Johnson, in Georgian days of patch and hoop, could never say the words of the Advent sequence, "tantus labor non sit cassus"—let it not be in vain that Thou hast died—without the tears falling on his cheeks, and as the dying Bede prayed "Leave us not desolate" he burst into prolonged weeping. But, Cuthbert tells us, such tears were the overflow of joy.

An All-Hallowtide Sermon

To-day, beloved, we celebrate in the joy of one solemnity the festival of All Saints: in whose companionship the heaven exults; in whose guardianship the earth rejoices; by whose triumphs Holy Church is crowned; whose confession, as braver in its passion, is also brighter in its honour—because, while the battle increased, the glory of them that fought in it was also augmented. And the triumph of martyrdom is adorned with the manifold kind of its torments, because the more severe the pangs, the more illustrious also were the rewards; while our Mother, the Catholic Church, was taught by her Head, Jesus Christ, not to fear contumely, affliction, death; and more and more strengthened,—not by resistance, but by endurance,—inspired all of that illustrious number who suffered imprisonment or torture, with one and equal ardour to fight the battle, for triumphal glory.

O truly blessed Mother Church! so illuminated by the honour of Divine condescension, so adorned by the glorious blood of triumphant martyrs, so decked with the inviolate confession of snow-white virginity! Among its flowers, neither roses nor lilies are wanting. Endeavour now, beloved, each for yourselves, in each kind of honour, to obtain your own dignity—crowns, snow-white for chastity, or purple for passion. In those heavenly camps both peace and war have their own flowers, wherewith the soldiers of Christ are crowned.

For the ineffable and unbounded goodness of God has provided this also, that the time for labour and for agony should not be extended,—not long, not enduring, but short, and, so to

speak, momentary ; that in this short and little life should be the pain and the labours—that in the life which is eternal should be the crown and the reward of merits ; that the labours should quickly come to an end, but the reward of endurance should remain without end ; that after the darkness of this world they should behold that most beautiful light, and should receive a blessedness greater than the bitterness of all passions : as the Apostle beareth witness when he said, *The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us.*

With how joyous a breast the heavenly city receives those that return from fight ! How happily she meets them that bear the trophies of the conquered enemy ! With triumphant men women also come, who rose superior both to this world and to their sex, doubling the glory of their warfare ; virgins with youths, who surpassed their tender years by their virtues. Yet not they alone, but the rest of the multitude of the faithful shall also enter the palace of that eternal court, who in peaceful union have observed the heavenly commandments, and have maintained the purity of the faith.

Now, therefore, brethren, let us enter the way of life ; let us return to the celestial city, in which we are citizens, enrolled and inscribed. For we are *no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens of the saints, and of the household of God—heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ.* The gates of this city are opened to us by fortitude ; and faith will afford us a broad entrance. Let us consider, therefore, the felicity of that heavenly habitation, in so far as it is possible to consider it : for to speak the truth, no words of man are sufficient to comprehend it.

Of that city is written, in a certain place, thus : " that grief, and sorrow, and crying, shall flee away. What can be happier than that life, where there is no fear of poverty—no weakness of disease ; where none can be hurt, none can be angry ; where none can envy, none can be impure ; where none can be tormented with the desire of honour, or the ambition of power ? No fear there of the Devil ; no snares there of evil spirits ; no terror there of hell ; no death there, either of soul or body, but a life blessed in the gift of immortality. No discord there for ever, but all things in harmony—all things in agreement : because there will be one concord of all saints—

one peace, and one joy. Tranquil are all things there, and quiet. Perpetual is the splendour there : not such as the sunlight which now is, but both more glorious and more happy ; because that city, as we read, *needeth not the light of the sun : for the Lord God giveth it light, and its brightness is the Lamb.* There, *they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament ; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.*

Wherefore, there is no night there,—no darkness, no gathering of clouds, no asperity of cold or heat ; but such will be the nature of things as *neither hath eye seen, nor the ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man,* except of those who are counted worthy to inherit it : whose names are written in the Book of Life ; who have both washed their robes in the Blood of the Lamb, and are before the Throne of GOD, and serve Him day and night. There is no old age there, nor misery of old age ; while all come *to a perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.* [1]

But above all things is the being associated with the companies of Angels and Archangels, Thrones and Dominations, Principalities and Powers, and the enjoyment of the watches of all the celestial virtues ; to behold the squadrons of the saints, adorned with stars ; the Patriarchs, glittering with faith ; the Prophets, rejoicing in hope ; the Apostles who, in the twelve tribes of Israel, shall judge the whole world ; the Martyrs, decked with the purple diadems of victory ; the Virgins, also, with their wreaths of beauty. But of the King, Who is in the midst, no words are able to speak. That beauty, that virtue, that glory, that magnificence, that majesty, surpasses every expression—every sense of the human mind. For it is greater than the glory of all the saints but to attain to that ineffable sight, and to be made radiant with the splendour of His Countenance. It were worth while to suffer torments every day—it were worth while to endure hell itself for a season—so that we might behold CHRIST coming in glory, and be joined to the number of the saints. Is it not, then,

[1] The preacher is, of course, referring to that explanation of the text which would teach that, as our Lord rose again in the very best part of earthly life, so our bodies, at the Resurrection, will be raised at the same age as His was ; and to this purpose they also quote that text, Isaiah lxv, 20, "*There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days : for the child shall die an hundred years old.*"—(Neale's note.)

well worth while to endure earthly sorrows, that we may be partakers of such good, and of such glory ?

What, beloved brethren, will be that glory of the righteous ! What that great gladness of the saints, when every face shall shine as the sun ; when the LORD shall begin to count over in distinct orders His people, and to receive them into the kingdom of His FATHER, and to render to each the rewards promised to their merits and to their works, *things heavenly, for things earthly ; things eternal for things temporal ;* a great reward, for a little labour ; to introduce the saints to the vision of His FATHER'S glory ; and to make them *sit down in heavenly places*, to the end that GOD may be all in all ; and to bestow on them that love Him that eternity which He hath promised to them—that immortality for which He has redeemed them by the quickening of His own Blood ; lastly, to restore them to Paradise, and to open the kingdom of heaven by the faith and verity of His promise !

Let these things be engrafted firmly in our senses—be understood by the fulness of our faith—be loved with the whole heart—be acquired by perseverence of unceasing works. The thing itself lies in the power of him that acts : because *the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence.* This thing, O man, that is, the kingdom of heaven, requires no other price than thyself. It is worth what thou art worth : give thyself, and thou shalt have that. Why shouldest thou be troubled about the price ? CHRIST surrendered himself, that He might win thee as a kingdom to GOD the FATHER. In like manner, do thou give thyself, that thou mayest become His kingdom, *that sin may not reign in thy mortal body*, but that the SPIRIT may rule there, to the acquiring of life. Let it be our joy, then, to stretch forth after the palm of salutary works. Let us one and all willingly and readily strive in this contest of righteousness ; let us run with GOD and CHRIST for spectators ; and if we have already begun to rise superior to this world and this life, let us not allow our course to be retarded by any hankering after it. If the Last Day shall find us running without hindrance and swiftly in this race, the LORD will never deny remuneration to our merits. For He Who will give a purple crown for their passion to them that conquer in persecution, the same will bestow a snow-white diadem, according to the merits of their righteousness, to them that triumph in peace. For neither

Abraham nor Isaac nor Jacob were slain ; and yet, honoured by the merits of their faith and righteousness, they were reckoned the first among the Patriarchs ; and whoever shall be found faithful, and just, and praiseworthy, shall sit down with them at the banquet. These are the footsteps which all the saints, as they were returning to their Country, left behind, that, treading in their prints, we might also follow them in their joys.

Let us consider that Paradise is our country, as well as theirs : and so we shall begin to reckon the Patriarchs as our fathers. Why do we not, then, hasten and run, that we may behold our Country, and salute our parents ? A great multitude of dear ones is there expecting us : a vast and mighty crowd of parents, brothers, and children, secure now of their own safety, anxious yet of our salvation, longs that we may come to their sight and embrace—to that joy which will be common to us and to them—to that pleasure expected by our celestial fellow-servants, as well as ourselves—to that full and perpetual felicity. If it be a pleasure to go to them, let us eagerly and covetously hasten on our way, that we may soon be with them, and soon be with CHRIST ; that we may have Him as our Guide in this journey, Who is the Author of Salvation, the Prince of Life, the Giver of Gladness, and Who liveth and reigneth with GOD the FATHER Almighty, and with the HOLY GHOST.

PETER OF BLOIS (*d.* 1200)

PETRUS BLESENSIS, called from his preaching power "most divine," was a canon of Salisbury and archdeacon successively of Bath, London and Canterbury, of which church he was also chancellor. Born at Blois, he studied oratory and other liberal arts at Paris, divinity, under John of Salisbury, at Chartres, and law at Bologna, on his way to which city he was made prisoner by the partisans of the anti-Pope Octavian. At one time he was employed as secretary by William, King of Sicily, but being banished thence he was invited to England by Henry II. He negotiated between the Crown, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Roman See about the rights of the metropolitical church, and also persuaded Henry to continue paying Peter's pence. He died in England in the last year of the twelfth century. He was all his life in deacon's orders. Peter's sermons were first printed at Paris in the year 1519. His works form four volumes in Dr. Giles's *Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*.

The sermon here subjoined is given in Neale's *Mediæval Preaching*. It was delivered in English to a village congregation, probably of Somerset folk, and was so much talked about that the preacher was persuaded to issue it in a Latin dress, and much expanded. Its sensational appeal, addressed to secular persons, contrasts with the serene tone of Bede's cloistered homily of nearly five centuries earlier. Mediæval preaching was objective, *naïve* and uncompromising. It was Scriptural in the truest sense, not as quoting a string of texts, but as living in a Scriptural atmosphere ; and, even when the application was most forced, so as now to raise a smile, it was never artificial. The mystical meaning always seems, both to preacher and auditors, the real and intended one. The following Sermon, however, on Satan as Devil, *Diabolos*, the Accuser

of the brethren and Estranger between GOD and man, is dramatically simple and straightforward. The text was Psalm xciv, 16, 17 ("Who will rise up for me against the wicked? etc.").

SATAN THE ACCUSER

. . . To us worldly men, who are not only in the world, but of the world,—who are set in the midst of a perverse and crooked generation, crooked and perverse ourselves,—who are often intoxicated and sickened with the cup of Babylon,—to us, I say, I think that meditation, which impresses with the fear of the Judge, Who will judge the world by fire, is highly useful and profitable; that Judge by Whom the saints will judge the people, by Whom the miserable daughter of Babylon will have her own retribution returned upon her,—a wretched and eternal retribution. O blessed souls of the saints, who, while yet in the flesh, live above the flesh; while yet men, show forth the life of angels! O truly blessed, whose it is to gather the most sweet fruits of contemplation; whose it is to possess a harbour, as it were, of tranquillity in this *great and wide sea;* who are neither driven from their course by the rushing wind of fear, nor tossed by the tumult of the stormy ocean! O thrice and four times happy, before whose eyes is the love of their Redeemer, the love of their FATHER, and of their Country, and that continually; and who know the fear of the Judge and of hell only at a distance! They, indeed, *forgetting the things behind, press forward to the things that are before:* they not only despise, but are ignorant of fear; and that dread which at first introduced love, being cast out, they, so to speak, cannot help loving ever since the time that they were first inflamed by such affection. It is for them to be anointed with the oil of the good Samaritan; it is for us to use the wine of compunction: it is for them to *draw water with joy out of the wells of the Saviour, to be satisfied with the pleasures of His house, to be given to drink of the water of the wisdom of salvation;* it is ours to *mingle our drink with weeping,* to be *fed with the bread of tears,* to have the *plenteousness of tears* which the LORD giveth *to drink.* They always sit at the banquet with their FATHER, the Merciful and Gentle, the Giver of all good things with benedictions. Let us continually turn

our eyes to the Judge—the severe, the jealous, the strict Examiner, not only into our works, but into every idle word. There is no readier way by which we may obtain their happy condition, no easier access, no more profitable advance. This way is straight in the ingress, more tolerable in the progress, more fruitful in the egress. This is the beginning of the road that leads to our Country; for *the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.*

Satan Pleading against the Soul of the Sinner

"Behold, Lord, this man stands before Thee, altogether man, altogether flesh, altogether clay; whose faults are manifest, whose transgressions against Thy Majesty are infinite, whose sin has no plea of lightness to merit pardon, whose obstinacy in enormous wickedness cries for wrath and vengeance. . . . . But not to dwell on generals, and to come to particulars, I pass over the rest, exceeding, as they do, measure and number; and I accuse him especially of these crimes, and shall persevere with my charge on account of this threefold transgression. In the first place, I boldly pronounce him a liar and a perjured person; for who can deny that he is such who, after having solemnly, and with the consent of legitimate witnesses, blotted out the handwriting of sin that stood in my name against him, nevertheless broke, by the transgression of his pledge, the baptismal covenant so solemnly entered into with Thee, and approved by so many bystanders? Then, O good Judge, he acted guilefully towards Thee, when a fallacious and deceitfully intended promise obtained the remission of original sin. But, unless I am mistaken, GOD understands a promise or an oath in that sense in which he who promises or swears intends it. Didst Thou understand, O righteous Judge, the deceit intended against Thee, and didst yet remain silent? or didst Thou not understand it?—Thou, to Whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from Whom no secrets are hid? But when Thou didst perceive the guile, why didst Thou give the remission?—or, at least, why didst Thou not forgive deceitfully,

"Art by art to overthrow,"

and allow the false promiser and detected deceiver to fall into the same pit which he had made?

"But let it be so,—that Thou wast pitiful or remiss in Baptism, and mayest perhaps have made some account of the age of the promiser: who can answer to me as to his promise repeated twice, thrice, ay, and much oftener? I am not accusing the Judge with the prisoner, but I offer to the Judge the man that is to be judged. Is to be?—if there be any justice, he is already judged. Thou hast instituted, O LORD, a plank after shipwreck, the power of rising after a fall, penance after sin. I say nothing, and pass by the fact that this institution was made to my manifest wrong: I cannot destroy it; and, therefore, I allow it and stand by it. This man renounced in Baptism Satan and all his works, and all his pomps; and, unmindful of his promise, gave himself over, as soon as he could, to the Power whom he had renounced, implicated himself in his works, and took a part in his pomps. But, when he knew what he had done, he changed his determination for the better. Be it so, that *he inclined his heart, and forsook also his own people and his father's house:* be it so, *that the wicked forsook his ways, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and returned to the Lord, and He had mercy upon him.* Be it so: but it is equally clear that he again changed that determination for the worse, and the *latter end of that man became worse than the first:* which I will briefly show.

"Remember, I pray Thee, that he renewed his promises to Thee before Thy vicar, before Thy anointed,—that is, before Thy priest: he renewed his baptismal covenant, and bound himself again by a fresh engagement. In this case it is impossible that he can excuse his age, that he can speak of force, that he can pretend insufficiency. He came before Thy priest in full age, and with full sense; he promised freely, and not by compulsion; he willingly and boldly took on his shoulders a burden which he was able to bear. What more? In one and the same moment he left the priest, and started back from his determination; he deceived the priest, he deceived Thee, he deceived himself. He cast off Thy light yoke and easy burden; he embraced his ancient slavery under the yoke of sin; he put away the robe of innocence, and put on a garment clotted with blood; he put away the short garment which could not cover him, and again took hold of the vestment which he had left with his Egyptian mistress. To be short, the greater crimes he had committed before confession, with

the greater licence he returned to them after it ; yes, and perpetrated crimes which till then he had not attempted, *drawing iniquity with a rope, and sin as it were with a cart-rope.*

" Thus, then, as if the burden of former crimes were not sufficient for his damnation, he added the transgression of his promise and pledge. More than once he came deceitfully to the priest, and at the appointed time, giving in to the ordinary custom of confession, rather than following purity of conscience, he added this, also, once a year to former sins, that, in the presence of Thine anointed, he lied to thee, and obtained from the priest a fictitious absolution. Time would fail me if I were to enumerate the breaking of the promises, the setting at nought of the vows. I say nothing of the lies by which his whole conversation has been interspersed. I say nothing of his frequent and usual oaths and perjuries, in which he cast as it were in Thy teeth, and that many times, the human frailty which Thou didst take for his sake ; the oaths in which he basely reproached Thee with Thy Death, Thy Cross, Thy Passion, and the other sufferings of Thy Humanity ; and exceeding, in a certain sense, the madness of Jewish cruelty, broke Thy bones,—or rather, numbered them all up, and injured Thee in all. If, LORD, Thou considerest this a light offence, Thou greatly derogatest from the blessing of Thy assumed Humanity, and dost not confess that those members and those wounds were Thine indeed ; since Thou so lightly sufferest and permittest them to be thus opprobriously reviled.

" Therefore, O good Judge, if truth is the beginning of Thy words,—nay, rather, if Thou art the Truth itself,—since every possible word of truth, and in every possible way, has departed from the lips of this guilty man, in Thy truth and for Thy truth's sake, slay the soul whose mouth has so often lied, and shut out the perjured man from the eyes of Eternal Verity.

" Next, I will manifestly prove him to be a betrayer. Wilt Thou not acknowledge him to be a betrayer, who, while he *eats of Thy bread, lifts up his heel against Thee ?* Is not *the hand of him that betrayeth Thee with Thee on the table,* when man, *who eats angel's food, the bread which cometh down from heaven and giveth life unto the world,* nevertheless holds communication with Thine enemies, walks in the counsel of the

ungodly, stands in the way of sinners, and—which is more wicked yet, nay, which is most wicked of all—glories that he *has sat in the seat of the scornful?* Either allow that such an one is a traitor, or repel Thy Augustine, who teaches in so many words, "He who betrays CHRIST to a body that sins, is as guilty as he that betrayed Him to the Jews that crucified." Thou didst feed him, O LORD, from Thy table, from Thy holy altar, not with every-day bread, but with the bread of angels; not with every-day drink, but with Thy precious Blood. He sat down at a great banquet, and when he should have prepared a like return, he rather gave Thee *gall and vinegar to drink, crucifying to himself the Son of God afresh, and putting Him to an open shame.*

"And what if, like a *faithful and wise servant,* Thou didst set him over Thy family, *to give them their portion of meat in due season?* What if Thou didst see him beyond the angels, in that he makes that bread of angels, conceding to him that consecration of the LORD'S Body and Blood to which the purity of the angelic nature cannot approach? Angels exult with fear in beholding that food, but dare not to consecrate it; for Thou has not given to those most pure spirits that which Thou hast given to sinful men. *Thine angels Thou chargest with folly,* the sins of men Thou winkest at; for, after a certain sort, man that was lost, and redeemed with some violence and difficulty, seems to be more honoured and loved by Thee than Thy angels, who were never lost, and therefore never redeemed. Thou callest Thyself *fairer than the children of men,* as if it were glorious for Thee to excel men,—for Thee Who, by the brightness of Thy Presence, feedest and strengthenest the purity of angels. Verily, Thy *delights are with the sons of men,* on whom Thou hast not bestowed angels to be their keepers, but hast endured to exalt human nature even above the angels. Humble, if Thou wilt, Thine angels; *bow down,* if Thou wilt, *Thine heavens;* raise and exalt man; let the prodigal son find grace in the sight of his father; let the tenth piece of silver, lost and found, be of more esteem than the nine that were never lost; let the hundredth sheep be dearer to Thee than the ninety and nine left in the wilderness: I bear it, and am silent. I may grieve, I may envy, I cannot hinder; but yet I would so have Thee to love man as to hate a betrayer. I desire Thee not to punish nature, but vice.

Let human nature have her titles of honour, let her keep the prerogative of her dignity; only, let sin obtain that which it deserves,—let no crime go unpunished. Receive man, if Thou wilt; but cast out the traitor."

The Misery of a Wicked Priest

Certainly a devout and prudent Priest, while he stands at the Divine Table, will think of nothing else but *Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.* He will set before the eyes of his heart the humility of CHRIST, the patience of CHRIST, His Passion, and sorrows; the reproaches of CHRIST—the spittings, the scourging, the spear, the Cross, the Death; he devoutly and solicitously recalls and crucifies himself in the memory of the LORD'S Passion. O how awful, how perilous a thing, my brethren, is the administration of your office! because ye shall have to answer not only for your own souls, but for the souls committed to your charge, when the Day of tremendous Judgment shall come! And how shall he keep another man's conscience whose own is not kept? For conscience is an abyss —a most obscure night: and what, then, of the wretched priest who has undertaken this night, and to whom they cry, *Watchman, what of the day? Watchman, what of the night?* What is that most wretched Priest to do who feels himself loaded with sins, implicated with cares, infected with the filthiness of carnal desires, blind, bowed down, weak, straitened by a thousand difficulties, anxious through a thousand necessities, miserable with a thousand troubles, precipitate to vices, weak to virtues? What shall he do—the son of grief—the son of eternal misery—who neither kindles the fire of love in himself, nor in others? Surely he is prepared for the fuel and the consumption of fire! *A fire is kindled in the fury of the Lord;* and it shall burn even to the nethermost hell. A place is appointed for him with everlasting burnings; the worm is prepared which dieth not,—smoke, vapour, and the vehemence of storms; horror, and a deep shade; the weight of chains of repentance that bind, that burn, and that consume not! From which may that Fire deliver us Who consumes not, but consummates—which devours not, but enlightens every man that cometh into the world. May He illuminate us to give the knowledge of salvation unto His people; Who liveth and reigneth ever with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST, GOD to all ages of ages.

HUGH LATIMER (14—?-1555)

In the year 1539, after the passing of the Act of the Six Articles (the " whip with six thongs "), Latimer, unable to comply, withdrew from the See of Worcester. He saw the inside of the Tower for a short time, receiving on his release a small pension, with which he retired into private seclusion ; but his servant Augustine Bernher, who collected his Sermons, and Foxe say that he spent the last six years of Henry's reign in prison, " loking dayly for death." Henry died Jan. 28, 1547, and early in the new reign the Protector Somerset was petitioned by the Commons to restore Latimer to his bishoprick. The Government, however, was casting about for influential preachers to commend the coming ecclesiastical changes to the people, and the reputation of Latimer for a task of that kind was unrivalled. Admirers described him as the best preacher in Christendom. He knew himself where his gift lay, and diocesan administration was not congenial to him. Burnet says he was " now very ancient," and his birth has been put as early as 1470 ; on the other hand, it has been put as late as 1491. Perhaps 1485 is nearest to the real date. But a sexagenarian was counted an old man in the sixteenth century.

Latimer then returned to public life, not as a prelate, but as a licensed King's preacher, and at once became a principal force in the growing movement towards radical religious change, living meanwhile under Cranmer's roof at Lambeth. During the Lent of 1547 Barlow and Ridley preached against ceremonies and images, and iconoclastic riots followed, which somewhat alarmed the Council. Latimer's task was rather to be the attack upon the hierarchy. He made his reappearance on New Year's Day, 1548, at Paul's Cross, and referring afterwards, when preaching before the Court, to this first sermon, he said : " There is a certain man that being asked

shortly after if he had been at the sermon that day answered, 'Yea.' 'I pray you,' said he, 'how you liked him?' 'Marry,' said he, 'even as I liked him always—a seditious fellow.' Oh, Lord, he pinched me there!"

He preached on the Sunday of that January, and also on Wednesday, Jan. 18, "in the Shrouds," the famous homily printed below, which was published separately the same year. The Paul's Cross Sermons called "Of the Plough" were followed a little later by the sermons preached before Edward from a pulpit in the Priory Garden. These, then, were all open-air harangues, and dealt, in the racy language of an age which only called a spade a spade when it could find no plainer term, with the ecclesiastical, moral, social and economic evils of the time, about the common, daily life of which they are a mine of information. They tell us what a pig cost, how cloth-makers doctored their wares and racked them till seventeen yards became eighteen, how lads learned the use of the bow, and many other matters. Speaking against depreciation of the currency, Latimer remarked: "I have now gotten one fellow more, a companion of sedition, and wot ye who is my fellow? Esay the prophet. I spake but of a little pretty shilling, but he speaketh to Jerusalem after another sort, and was bold to meddle with their coin. 'Thou proud, thou covetous, thou haughty city of Jerusalem. *Argentum tuum versum est in scoriam*—not into testoons but into dross. . . Was not this a seditious varlet to tell them this to their beards?" Latimer, however, did more—he told the young King in a sermon whom his sisters, the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth ought not to wed with.

The oratory of the sixteenth century was a fascinating blend of homely familiarity and drollery with exquisite bursts of eloquence. Latimer's strength lay almost wholly in the former. He was "never accounted learned," but was respected for the simplicity of his character. It may be doubted, however, whether his bluff and breezy style was quite so artless

and unpremeditated as is usually supposed. Does, for example, no smell of the lamp cling to the alliterative elaboration of a sentence like this: "For the fault of unpreaching prelates; they are so troubled with lordly living, they be so placed in palaces, couched in courts, ruffling in their rents, dancing in their dominions, burdened with ambassages, pampering of their paunches, like a monk that maketh his jubilee, munching in their mangers and moiling in their gay manors and mansions, and so troubled with loitering in their lordships, that they cannot attend it; they are otherwise occupied."

To write out a sermon was looked upon as only the precaution of a divine under some cloud of suspicion. Gardiner, when invited by Cecil, in that same year, 1548, to preach a written discourse before the King, declined, "for that was to preach as an offender." But studious preparation went usually to public utterances, and their frequently amazing outspokenness was calculated. Latimer, as Bernher records, "preached for the most part every sondaye twoo sermons, to the great shame, confusion, and damnation of our fat-bellied, unpreaching prelats." Now Lancelot Andrewes said he could only preach twice by prating once. But then Andrewes only rose at four in the morning, whereas Latimer was out of bed by two.[1]

If it be a virtue to preach down to the hearers, instead of lifting them up, Latimer possessed it. He could lay down his life for conscience sake, and at Mary's accession refused the opportunity afforded him of slipping overseas—Smithfield, he said, had long groaned for him: though not there, where he had preached at the burning of Friar Forrest, did he bear fiery testimony. But he was not the man to stem a popular stream. "Have at them, Father Latimer, have at them!" cried the boys in the streets as he went to the preaching place.

[1] Every morning ordinarily, winter and summer, about two of the clock in the morning, he was at his booke most diligently. . . If England ever had a Prophet he was one. (Bernher.)

The abuses he lashed were unpopular and dying ones. Thus, the employment of churchmen—what Wyclif called Cæsarean clergy—in offices of State was a relic of the mediæval unity of life which the Tudor nobles and lawyers were agog, and well able, to suppress.[1] Though transparently sincere, then, Latimer must be looked on as a spiritual demagogue.

The denunciation of the selfishness of Londoners was delivered in the hearing of the Mayor and Commonalty, who attended the Paul's Cross sermons " in their scarlets." The first one of the series " Of the Plough " which Bernher was able to print was the fourth, entitled " The Ploughers." It is called " A notable sermon of the reverend father Maister Hugh Latymer, preached in the Shrowdes at Paules Churche in London on the xviij day of January, anno 1548."[2] " The Shrouds " have been variously explained as a covered shelter along the north wall of the Church, the triforium of the cathedral itself, and St. Faith's Church in the cathedral crypt, which was sometimes called St. Faith-in-the-Shrouds. " Shroud " means covering or shelter, and the Paul's Cross sermons were preached under cover in inclement weather.

" My most deare master," exclaims Bernher ; " who is he that is so ignorante that did not see the wonderfull handiworke of God in that man ? "

The Ploughers

" All things which are written are written for our erudition and knowledge." All things that are written in God's book, in the Bible book, in the book of the holy scripture, are written

[1] When Archbishop Sudbury, being then Chancellor of the realm, was butchered by the mob, Wyclif affirmed that he died in sin. In Stuart times Williams, Juxon and Laud held State offices, and as late as 1711 a Bishop, Robinson, became Lord Privy Seal.

[2] It is to be read in black-letter among " certayn godly sermons preached by the right reverende Father and constant martyr of Christ, Master *Hughe Latymer* . . . gathered and collected by *Augustine Bernher*, a servaunt of his, though not so perfectly as they were uttered, yet faythfully and truly, to the singular commoditie and profyt of the christen reader. Imprinted at London by John Day. An. 1562." (Bodleian Library). Latimer's power of picturesque vituperation is far outstripped by Bernher's own.

to be our doctrine. I told you in my first sermon, honourable audience, that I purposed to declare unto you two things, The one, what seed should be sown in God's field, in God's plough land. And the other, who should be the sowers. That is to say, what doctrine is to be taught in Christ's church and congregation, and what men should be the teachers and preachers of it? The first part I have told you in the three sermons past, in which I have assayed to set forth my plough, to prove what I could do. And now I shall tell you who be the ploughers; for God's word is a seed to be sown in God's field, that is, the faithful congregation, and the preacher is the sower. And it is in the gospel; "*exivit qui seminat seminare semen suum*"; "he that soweth, the husbandman, the ploughman, went forth to sow his seed." So that a preacher is resembled to a ploughman, as it is in another place: "*nemo admota aratro manu et à tergo respiciens aptus est regno Dei*"; "no man that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is apt for the kingdom of God." (*Luke* ix.) That is to say, let no preacher be negligent in doing his office. Albeit this is one of the places that hath been racked, as I told you of racking scriptures. And I have been one of them myself that hath racked it, I cry God mercy for it; and have been one of them that have believed and expounded it against religious persons that would forsake their order which they had professed, and would go out of their cloister: whereas indeed it toucheth not monkery, nor maketh any thing at all for any such matter; but it is directly spoken of diligent preaching of the word of God.

For preaching of the gospel is one of God's plough-works, and the preacher is one of God's ploughmen. Ye may not be offended with my similitude, in that I compare preaching to the labour and work of ploughing, and the preacher to a ploughman: ye may not be offended with this my similitude, for I have been slandered of some persons for such things. It hath been said of me, "Oh, Latimer, nay, as for him, I will never believe him while I live, nor never trust him, for he likened our blessed Lady to a saffron-bag": where indeed I never used that similitude. But it was, as I have said unto you before now, according to that which Peter saw before in the spirit of prophecy, and said, that there should come afterward "men *per quos via veritatis maledictis afficeretur*, there should come

fellows by whom the way of truth should be evil spoken of, and slandered. But in case I had used this similitude, it had not been to be reproved, but might have been without reproach. For I might have said thus ; as the saffron-bag that hath been full of saffron, or hath had saffron in it, doth ever after savour and smell of the sweet saffron that it contained, so our blessed Lady, which conceived and bare Christ in her womb, did ever after resemble the manners and virtues of that precious Babe that she bare. And what had our blessed Lady been the worse for this ? Or what dishonour was this to our blessed Lady ? But as preachers must be wary and circumspect, that they give not any just occasion to be slandered and ill spoken of by the hearers, so must not the auditors be offended without cause. For heaven is in the gospel likened to a mustard-seed : it is compared also to a piece of leaven ; and as Christ saith, that at the last day he will come like a thief ; and what dishonour is this to God ? Or what derogation is this to heaven ? Ye may not then, I say, be offended with my similitude, for because I liken preaching to a ploughman's labour, and a prelate to a ploughman.

But now you will ask me whom I call a prelate ? A prelate is that man, whatsoever he be, that hath a flock to be taught of him ; whosoever hath any spiritual charge in the faithful congregation, and whosoever he be that hath cure of souls. And well may the preacher and the ploughman be likened together : First, for their labour of all seasons of the year ; for there is no time of the year in which the ploughman hath not some special work to do. As in my country in Leicestershire, the ploughman hath a time to set forth, and to assay his plough, and other times for other necessary works to be done. And then they also may be likened together for the diversity of works, and variety of offices that they have to do. For as the ploughman first setteth forth his plough, and then tilleth his land, and breaketh it in furrows, and sometimes ridgeth it up again ; and at another time harroweth it and clotteth it, and sometime dungeth it and hedgeth it, diggeth it and weedeth it, purgeth and maketh it clean : so the prelate, the preacher, hath many diverse offices to do. He hath first a busy work to bring his parishioners to a right faith, as Paul calleth it ; and not a swerving faith, but to a faith that embraceth Christ, and trusteth to his merits ; a lively faith, a justifying faith ; a faith

that maketh a man righteous, without respect of works : as ye have it very well declared and set forth in the Homily. He hath then a busy work, I say, to bring his flock to a right faith, and then to confirm them in the same faith. Now casting them down with the law, and with threatenings of God for sin ; now ridging them up again with the gospel, and with the promises of God's favour. Now weeding them, by telling them their faults, and making them forsake sin ; now clotting them, by breaking their stony hearts, and by making them supple-hearted, and making them to have hearts of flesh ; that is, soft hearts, and apt for doctrine to enter in ; now teaching to know God rightly, and to know their duty to God and their neighbours ; now exhorting them when they know their duty, that they do it, and be diligent in it. So that they have a continual work to do. Great is their business, and therefore great should be their hire. They have great labours, and therefore they ought to have good livings, that they may commodiously feed their flock ; for the preaching of the word of God unto the people is called meat : scripture calleth it meat ; not strawberries,[1] that come but once a year, and tarry not long, but are soon gone : but it is meat, it is no dainties. The people must have meat that must be familiar and continual, and daily given unto them to feed upon. Many make a strawberry of it, ministering it but once a year ; but such do not the office of good prelates. For Christ saith, *Quis putas est servus prudens et fidelis ? Qui dat cibum in tempore ;*—" Who think you is a wise and a faithful servant ? He that giveth meat in due time." So that he must at all times convenient preach diligently : therefore saith he, " Who trow ye is a faithful servant ? " He speaketh it as though it were a rare thing to find such a one, and as though he should say, there be but a few of them to find in the world. And how few of them there be throughout this realm that give meat to their flock as they should do, the Visitors can best tell. Too few, too few, the more is the pity, and never so few as now.

[1] This expression which Latimer made use of to designate the non-residents of his day, who only visited their cures once a year, became proverbial. A bachelor of divinity, named Oxenbridge, in a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, Jan. 13, 1566, says, " I will shew you the state and condition of this my mother Oxford ; for a piteous case it is, that now in all Oxford there is not past five or six preachers—I except strawberry preachers." (Dr. Watkins' note.)

By this then it appeareth that a prelate, or any that hath cure of soul, must diligently and substantially work and labour. Therefore saith Paul to Timothy, *qui episcopatum desiderat, hic bonum opus desiderat,* " he that desireth to have the office of a bishop, or a prelate, that man desireth a good work." Then if it be a good work, it is work ; ye can make but a work of it. It is God's work, God's plough, and that plough God would have still going. Such then as loiter and live idly are not good prelates, or ministers. And of such as do not preach and teach, and do their duties, God saith by his prophet Jeremy, *maledictus qui facit opus Dei fraudulenter,* " cursed be the man that doth the work of God fraudulently, guilefully or deceitfully " ; some books have it *negligenter*, negligently or slackly. How many such prelates, how many such bishops, Lord, for thy mercy, are there now in England ? And what shall we in this case do ; shall we company with them ? O Lord, for Thy mercy ! Shall we not company with them ? O Lord, whither shall we flee from them ? But " cursed be he that doth the work of God negligently or guilefully." A sore word for them that are negligent in discharging their office, or have done it fraudulently ; for that is the thing that maketh the people ill.

But true it must be that Christ saith, *multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi,* " many are called, but few are chosen." (*Mat.* xxii.) Here have I an occasion by the way somewhat to say unto you ; yea, for the place that I alleged unto you before out of Jeremy, the forty-eighth chapter. And it was spoken of a spiritual work of God, a work that was commanded to be done, and it was of shedding blood, and of destroying the cities of Moab. For, saith he, " Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from shedding of blood." As Saul, when he kept back the sword from shedding of blood, at what time he was sent against Amalek, was refused of God for being disobedient to God's commandment, in that he spared Agag the king. So that that place of the prophet was spoken of them that went to the destruction of the cities of Moab, among the which there was one called Nebo, which was much reproved for idolatry, superstition, pride, avarice, cruelty, tyranny, and for hardness of heart ; and for these sins was plagued of God and destroyed.

Now what shall we say of these rich citizens of London ?

what shall I say of them? Shall I call them proud men of London, malicious men of London, merciless men of London? No, no, I may not say so; they will be offended with me then. Yet must I speak. For is there not reigning in London as much pride, as much covetousness, as much cruelty, as much oppression, and as much superstition, as was in Nebo? Yes, I think, and much more too. Therefore I say, repent, O London; repent, repent. Thou hearest thy faults told thee, amend them, amend them. I think, if Nebo had had the preaching that thou hast, they would have converted. And you rulers and officers, be wise and circumspect, look to your charge, and see you do your duties; and rather be glad to amend your ill living than to be angry when you are warned or told of your fault. What ado was there made in London at a certain man, because he said (and indeed at that time on a just cause,) "Burgesses," quoth he, "nay, butterflies." Lord what ado there was for that word; and yet would God they were no worse than butterflies. Butterflies do but their nature; the butterfly is not covetous, is not greedy of other men's goods, is not full of envy and hatred, is not malicious, is not cruel, is not merciless. The butterfly glorieth not in her own deeds, nor preferreth the traditions of men before God's word; it committeth not idolatry, nor worshippeth false gods. But London cannot abide to be rebuked; such is the nature of man. If they be pricked, they will kick; if they be rubbed on the gall, they will wince; but yet they will not amend their faults, they will not be ill spoken of. But how shall I speak well of them? If you could be content to receive and follow the word of God, and favour good preachers, if you could bear to be told of your faults, if you could amend when you hear of them, if you would be glad to reform that is amiss, if I might see any such inclination in you that you would leave to be merciless, and begin to be charitable, I would then hope well of you, I would then speak well of you. But London was never so ill as it is now. In times past, men were full of pity and compassion, but now there is no pity; for in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold, he shall lie sick at the door between stock and stock, I cannot tell what to call it, and perish there for hunger: Was there ever more unmercifulness in Nebo? I think not. In times past, when any rich man died in London, they were wont to help the poor scholars

of the universities with exhibition. When any man died, they would bequeath great sums of money toward the relief of the poor. When I was a scholar in Cambridge myself, I heard very good report of London, and knew many that had relief of the rich men of London ; but now I can hear no such good report, and yet I enquire of it, and hearken for it ; but now charity is waxen cold, none helpeth the scholar nor yet the poor. And in those days, what did they when they helped the scholars ? Marry they maintained and gave them livings that were very papists, and professed the pope's doctrine : and now that the knowledge of God's word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labour to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them.

Oh London, London, repent, repent ; for I think God is more displeased with London than ever he was with the city of Nebo. Repent therefore, repent, London, and remember that the same God liveth now that punished Nebo, even the same God, and none other ; and he will punish sin as well now as he did then : and he will punish the iniquity of London, as well as he did them of Nebo. Amend therefore. And ye that be prelates, look well to your office ; for right prelating is busy labouring, and not lording. Therefore preach and teach, and let your plough be doing. Ye lords, I say, that live like loiterers, look well to your office, the plough is your office and charge. If you live idle and loiter, you do not your duty, you follow not your vocation ; let your plough therefore be going, and not cease, that the ground may bring forth fruit.

But now methinketh I hear one say unto me : Wot ye what you say ? Is it a work ? Is it a labour ? How then hath it happened that we have had so many hundred years so many unpreaching prelates, lording loiterers, and idle ministers ? Ye would have me here to make answer, and to show the cause thereof. Nay, this land is not for me to plough, it is too stony, too thorny, too hard for me to plough. They have so many things that make for them, so many things to say for themselves, that it is not for my weak team to plough them. They have to say for themselves long customs, ceremonies and authority, placing in Parliament, and many things more. And I fear me this land is not yet ripe to be ploughed : for, as the saying is, it lacketh weathering : this gear lacketh weathering, at leastways it is not for me to plough. For what shall I look

for among thorns, but pricking and scratching? What among stones, but stumbling? What, I had almost said among serpents, but stinging? But this much I dare say, that since lording and loitering hath come up, preaching hath come down contrary to the Apostles' times: for they preached and lorded not, and now they lord and preach not. For they that be lords will ill go to plough: it is no meet office for them; it is not seeming for their estate. Thus came up lording loiterers; thus crept in unpreaching prelates, and so have they long continued. For how many unlearned prelates have we now at this day? And no marvel; for if the ploughmen that now be were made lords, they would clean give over ploughing; they would leave off their labour, and fall to lording outright, and let the plough stand: and then, both ploughs not walking, nothing should be in the commonweal but hunger. For ever since the prelates were made lords and nobles, the plough standeth, there is no work done, the people starve. They hawk, they hunt, they card, they dice, they pastime in their prelacies with gallant gentlemen, with their dancing minions, and with their fresh companions, so that ploughing is set aside. And by the lording and loitering, preaching and ploughing is clean gone. And thus if the ploughmen of the country were as negligent in their office as prelates be, we should not long live, for lack of sustenance. And as it is necessary for to have this ploughing for the sustentation of the body, so must we also have the other for the satisfaction of the soul, or else we cannot live long ghostly. For as the body wasteth and consumeth away for lack of bodily meat, so doth the soul pine away for default of ghostly meat. But there be two kinds of enclosing, to let or hinder both these kinds of ploughing; the one is an enclosing to let or hinder the bodily ploughing, and the other to let or hinder the holiday ploughing, the Church ploughing.

The bodily ploughing is taken in and enclosed through singular commodity. For what man will let go or diminish his private commodity for a commonwealth? And who will sustain any damage for the respect of a public commodity? The other plough also no man is diligent to set forward, nor no man will hearken to it. But to hinder and let it all men's ears are open; yea, and a great many of this kind of ploughmen, which are very busy, and would seem to be very good workmen, I fear me, some be rather mock-gospellers than faithful ploughmen.

I know many myself that profess the gospel, and live nothing thereafter. I know them, and I speak it with a heavy heart, there is as little charity and good living in them as in any other ; according to that which Christ said in the gospel to the great number of people that followed him, as though they had had an earnest zeal to his doctrine, whereas, indeed, they had it not ; *non quia vidistis signa, sed quia comedistis de panibus.* " Ye follow me," saith he," not because ye have seen the signs and miracles that I have done ; but because ye have eaten the bread, and refreshed your bodies, therefore you follow me." So that I think, many one now-a-days professeth the gospel for the living's sake, not for the love they bear to God's word. But they that will be true ploughmen must work faithfully for God's sake, for the edifying of their brethren. And as diligently as the husbandman plougheth for the sustentation of the body, so diligently must the prelates and ministers labour for the feeding of the soul ; both the ploughs must still be doing, as most necessary for man. And wherefore are magistrates ordained, but that the tranquillity of the commonweal may be confirmed, limiting both ploughs ?

But now for the fault of unpreaching prelates, methink I could guess what might be said for excusing of them. They are so troubled with lordly living, they be so placed in palaces, couched in courts, ruffling in their rents, dancing in their dominions, burdened with ambassages, pampering of their paunches, like a monk that maketh his jubilee ; munching in their mangers and moiling in their gay manors and mansions, and so troubled with loitering in their lordships, that they cannot attend it. They are otherwise occupied, some in the king's matters, some are ambassadors, some of the privy council, some to furnish the court, some are lords of the parliament, some are presidents, and some comptrollers of mints.

Well, well, is this their duty ? Is this their office ? Is this their calling ? Should we have ministers of the Church to be comptrollers of the mints ? Is this a meet office for a priest that hath cure of souls ? Is this his charge ? I would here ask one question ; I would fain know who controlleth the devil at home in his parish, while he controlleth the mint ? If the apostles might not leave the office of preaching to the deacons, shall one leave it for minting ? I cannot tell you ; but the saying is, that since priests have been minters money hath

been worse than it was before. And they say that the evilness of money hath made all things dearer. And in this behalf I must speak to England. Hear, my country, England, as Paul said in his first epistle to the Corinthians, the sixth chapter; for Paul was no sitting bishop, but a walking and a preaching bishop. But when he went from them, he left there behind him the plough going still; for he wrote unto them, and rebuked them for going to law, and pleading their causes before heathen judges. "Is there," saith he, "utterly among you no wise man, to be an arbitrator in matters of judgment? What, not one of all that can judge between brother and brother; but one brother goeth to law with another, and that under heathen judges? *Constituite contemptos qui sunt in ecclesia,* etc. Appoint them judges that are most abject and vile in the congregation." Which he speaketh in rebuking them; "for," saith he, "*ad erubescentiam vestram dico.* I speak it to your shame." So, England, I speak it to thy shame; is there never a nobleman to be a lord president, but it must be a prelate? Is there never a wise man in the realm to be a comptroller of the mint? I speak it to your shame. I speak it to your shame. If there be never a wise man, make a water-bearer, a tinker, a cobbler, a slave, a page, comptroller of the mint: make a mean gentleman, a groom, a yeoman, or a poor beggar, lord president.

Thus I speak, not that I would have it so; but to your shame, if there be never a gentleman meet nor able to be lord president. For why are not the noblemen and young gentlemen of England so brought up in knowledge of God, and in learning, that they may be able to execute offices in the commonweal? The king hath a great many of wards, and I trow there is a court of wards; why is there not a school for the wards, as well as there is a court for their lands? Why are they not set in schools where they may learn? Or why are they not sent to the universities, that they may be able to serve the king when they come to age? If the wards and young gentlemen were well brought up in learning, and in the knowledge of God, they would not when they come to age so much give themselves to other vanities. And if the nobility be well trained in godly learning, the people would follow the same train. For truly, such as the noblemen be, such will the people be. And now, the only cause why noblemen be not made lord

presidents is because they have not been brought up in learning.

Therefore for the love of God appoint teachers and schoolmasters, you that have charge of youth ; and give the teachers stipends worthy their pains, that they may bring them up in grammar, in logic, in rhetoric, in philosophy, in the civil law, and in that which I cannot leave unspoken of, the word of God. Thanks be unto God, the nobility otherwise is very well brought up in learning and godliness, to the great joy and comfort of England ; so that there is now good hope in the youth that we shall another day have a flourishing commonweal, considering their godly education. Yea, and there be already noblemen enough, though not so many as I would wish, able to be lord presidents, and wise men enough for the mint. And as unmeet a thing it is for bishops to be lord presidents, or priests to be minters, as it was for the Corinthians to plead matters of variance before heathen judges. It is also a slander to the noblemen, as though they lacked wisdom and learning to be able for such offices, or else were no men of conscience, or else were not meet to be trusted, and able for such offices. And a prelate hath a charge and cure otherwise ; and therefore he cannot discharge his duty and be a lord president too. For a presidentship requireth a whole man ; and a bishop cannot be two men. A bishop hath his office, a flock to teach, to look unto ; and therefore he cannot meddle with another office, which alone requireth a whole man. He should therefore give it over to whom it is meet, and labour in his own business ; as Paul writeth to the Thessalonians : " Let every man do his own business, and follow his calling." Let the priest preach, and the nobleman handle the temporal matters. Moses was a marvellous man, a good man. Moses was a wonderful fellow, and did his duty, being a married man ; we lack such as Moses was. Well, I would all men would look to their duty, as God hath called them, and then we should have a flourishing Christian commonweal.

And now I would ask a strange question : who is the most diligentest bishop and prelate in all England, that passeth all the rest in doing his office ? I can tell, for I know him who it is ; I know him well. But now I think I see you listening and hearkening that I should name him. There is one that passeth all the other, and is the most diligent prelate and preacher in

all England. And will ye know who it is? I will tell you: it is the devil. He is the most diligent preacher of all other; he is never out of his diocese; he is never from his cure; ye shall never find him unoccupied; he is ever in his parish; he keepeth residence at all times; ye shall never find him out of the way; call for him when you will he is ever at home; the diligentest preacher in all the realm; he is ever at his plough; no lording nor loitering can hinder him; he is ever applying his business, ye shall never find him idle I warrant you. And his office is to hinder religion, to maintain superstition, to set up idolatry, to teach all kind of popery. He is ready as can be wished for to set forth his plough; to devise as many ways as can be to deface and obscure God's glory. Where the devil is resident, and hath his plough going, there away with books and up with candles; away with bibles and up with beads; away with the light of the gospel and up with the light of candles, yea, at noon-days. Where the devil is resident, that he may prevail, up with all superstition and idolatry: censing, painting of images, candles, palms, ashes, holy water, and new service of men's inventing; as though man can invent a better way to honour God with than God himself hath appointed. Down with Christ's cross, up with purgatory pickpurse, up with him, the popish purgatory, I mean. Away with clothing the naked, the poor and impotent, up with decking of images, and gay garnishing of stocks and stones: up with man's traditions and his laws, down with God's traditions and his most holy word. Down with the old honour due to God, and up with the new god's honour. Let all things be done in Latin: there must be nothing but Latin, not so much as *memento homo quod cinis es, et in cinerem reverteris.* "Remember man that thou art ashes, and into ashes shalt thou return": which be the words that the minister speaketh unto the ignorant people, when he giveth them ashes upon Ash-wednesday, but it must be spoken in Latin. God's word may in no wise be translated into English.

Oh that our prelates would be as diligent to sow the corn of good doctrine as Satan is to sow cockle and darnel! And this is the devilish ploughing, the which worketh to have things in Latin, and letteth the fruitful edification. But here some man will say to me, What, sir, are ye so privy of the devil's counsel that ye know all this to be true?—Truly I know him

too well, and have obeyed him a little too much in condescending to some follies ; and I know him as other men do, yea that he is ever occupied, and ever busy in following his plough. I know by St. Peter, which saith of him, *Sicut leo rugiens circuit quærens quem devoret,* " he goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." I would have this text well viewed and examined, every word of it. " *Circuit,*" he goeth about in every corner of his diocese ; he goeth on visitation daily, he leaveth no place of his cure unvisited : he walketh round about from place to place, and ceaseth not. " *Sicut leo,*" as a lion, that is, strongly, boldly, and proudly ; stately and fiercely with haughty looks, with his proud countenances, with his stately braggings. " *Rugiens,*" roaring ; for he letteth not slip any occasion to speak or to roar out when he seeth his time. " *Quærens,*" he goeth about *seeking*, and not sleeping, as our bishops do ; but he seeketh diligently, he searcheth diligently all corners, whereas he may have his prey. He roveth abroad in every place of his diocese ; he standeth not still, he is never at rest, but ever in hand with his plough, that it may go forward. But there was never such a preacher in England as he is. Who is able to tell his diligent preaching, which every day and every hour laboureth to sow cockle and darnel, that he may bring out of form, and out of estimation and renown, the institution of the Lord's supper and Christ's cross ? For there he lost his right ; for Christ said, *Nunc judicium est mundi, princeps seculi hujus ejicietur foras. Et sicut exaltavit Moses serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis. Et cum exaltatus fuero à terra, omnia traham ad meipsum.* " Now is the judgment of this world, and the prince of this world shall be cast out. And as Moses did lift up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lift up. And when I shall be lift up from the earth I will draw all things unto myself." (*John* iii.) For the devil was disappointed of his purpose ; for he thought all to be his own : and when he had once brought Christ to the cross, he thought all cocksure.

But there lost he all reigning : for Christ said, *Omnia traham ad meipsum,* " I will draw all things unto myself." He meaneth, drawing of man's soul to salvation. And that he said he would do *per semetipsum* by his own self ; not by any other body's sacrifice. He meant by his own sacrifice on the

cross, where he offered himself for the redemption of mankind ; and not the sacrifice of the mass to be offered by another. For who can offer him but himself ? He was both the offerer and the offering. And this is the mark at the which the devil shooteth, to evacuate the cross of Christ, and to mingle the institution of the Lord's supper ; the which although he cannot bring to pass, yet he goeth about by his sleights and subtil means to frustrate the same ; and these fifteen hundred years he hath been a doer, only purposing to evacuate Christ's death, and to make it of small efficacy and virtue, For whereas Christ, according as the serpent was lifted up in the wilderness, so would he himself be exalted ; that thereby as many as trusted in him should have salvation ; but the devil would none of that. They would have us saved by a daily oblation propitiatory ; by a sacrifice expiatory, or remissory.

Now if I should preach in the country, among the unlearned, I would tell what propitiatory, expiatory, and remissory is ; but here is a learned auditory : yet for them that be unlearned I will expound it. Propitiatory, expiatory, remissory, or satisfactory, for they signify all one thing in effect, and is nothing else but a thing whereby to obtain remission of sins, and to have salvation. And this way the devil used to evacuate the death of Christ, that we might have affiance in other things, as in the daily sacrifice of the priest ; whereas Christ would have us to trust in his only sacrifice. So he was *agnus occisus ab origine mundi*, " the Lamb that hath been slain from the beginning of the world " ; and therefore he is called *juge sacrificium*, " a continual sacrifice " ; and not for the continuance of the mass, as the blanchers have blanched it, and wrested it ; and as I myself did once mistake it. But Paul saith, *per semetipsum purgatio facta*. " By himself, and by none other, Christ made purgation and satisfaction for the whole world."

Would Christ this word, *by himself*, had been better weighed and looked upon, and *in sanctificationem*, to make them holy ; for he is *juge sacrificium* a *continual* sacrifice, in effect, fruit and operation ; that like as they, which seeing the serpent hang up in the desert, were put in remembrance of Christ's death, in whom as many as believed were saved ; so all men that trusted in the death of Christ shall be saved, as well they that were before as they that came after. For he was

a continual sacrifice, as I said, in effect, fruit, operation, and virtue. As though he had from the beginning of the world, and continually should to the world's end, hang still on the cross ; and he is as fresh hanging on the cross now, to them that believe and trust in him, as he was fifteen hundred years ago, when he was crucified.

Then let us trust upon his only death, and look for none other sacrifice propitiatory than the same bloody sacrifice, the lively sacrifice ; and not the dry sacrifice, but a bloody sacrifice. For Christ himself said, *consummatum est*, " it is perfectly finished." " I have taken at my Father's hand the dispensation of redeeming mankind, I have wrought man's redemption, and have despatched the matter." Why then mingle ye him ? Why do ye divide him ? Why make you of him more sacrifices than one ? Paul saith, *Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*. " Christ our passover is offered up." So that the thing is done, and Christ hath done it, and he hath done it *semel*, once for all : and it was a bloody sacrifice, not a dry sacrifice.

Why then, it is not the mass that availeth or profiteth for the quick and the dead. Wo worth thee, O devil, wo worth thee, that hast prevailed so far and so long ; that hast made England to worship false gods, forsaking Christ their Lord. Wo worth thee devil, wo worth thee devil, and all thy angels. If Christ by his death draweth all things to himself, and draweth all men to salvation, and to heavenly bliss, that trust in him, then the priests at the mass, and the popish mass, I say, what can they draw, when Christ draweth all, but lands and goods from the right heirs ? The priests draw goods and riches, benefices, and promotions to themselves ; and such as believe in their sacrifices they draw to the devil. But Christ is he that draweth souls unto him by his bloody sacrifice. What have we to do then but *epulari in Domino*, to eat in the Lord at his supper ?

What other service have we to do to him, and what other sacrifice have we to offer, but the mortification of our flesh ? What other oblation have we to make, but of obedience, of good living, of good works, and of helping our neighbours ? But as for our redemption, it is done already, it cannot be better : Christ hath done that thing so well, that it cannot be amended. It cannot be devised how to make that any better

than he hath done it. But the devil, by the help of that Italian bishop yonder, his chaplain, hath laboured by all means that he might, to frustrate the death of Christ and the merits of his passion. And they have devised for that purpose to make us believe in other vain things by his pardons; as to have remission of sins for praying on hallowed beads, for drinking of the bakehouse bowl; as a canon of Waltham Abbey once told me, that whensoever they put their loaves of bread into the oven, as many as drank of the pardon bowl should have pardon for drinking of it. A mad thing, to give pardon to a bowl. Then to Pope Alexander's holy water, to hallowed bells, palms, candles, ashes, and what not? And of these things, every one hath taken away some part of Christ's sanctification; every one hath robbed some part of Christ's passion and cross, and hath mingled Christ's death, and hath been made to be propitiatory and satisfactory, and to put away sin. Yea, and Alexander's holy water yet at this day remaineth in England, and is used for a remedy against spirits and to chase away divells. Yea, and I would this had been the worst. I would this were the worst. But wo worth thee, O devil, that hast prevailed to evacuate Christ's cross, and to mingle the Lord's supper. These be the Italian bishop's devices, and the devil hath pricked at this mark to frustrate the cross of Christ: he shot at this mark long before Christ came, he shot at it four thousand years before Christ hanged on the cross, or suffered his passion.

For the brazen serpent was set up in the wilderness, to put men in remembrance of Christ's coming; that like as they which beheld the brazen serpent were healed of their bodily disease, so they that looked spiritually upon Christ that was to come, in him should be saved spiritually from the devil. The serpent was set up in memory of Christ to come, but the devil found means to steal away the memory of Christ's coming, and brought the people to worship the serpent itself, and to cense him, to honour him, and to offer to him, to worship him, and to make an idol of him. And this was done by the market-men that I told you of. And the clerk of the market did it for the lucre and advantage of his master, that thereby his honour might increase; for by Christ's death he could have but small worldly advantage. And so even now so hath he certain blanchers belonging to the market, to let and stop the

light of the gospel, and to hinder the king's proceedings in setting forth the word and glory of God. And when the King's majesty, with the advice of his honourable council, goeth about to promote God's word, and to set an order in matters of religion, there shall not lack blanchers that will say: As for images, whereas they have used to be censed, and to have candles offered unto them, none be so foolish to do it to the stock or stone, or to the image itself; but it is done to God and his honour before the image. And though they should abuse it, these blanchers will be ready to whisper the King in the ear, and to tell him that this abuse is but a small matter, and that the same, with all other like abuses in the Church, may be reformed easily. "It is but a little abuse," say they, "and it may be easily amended. But it should not be taken in hand at the first, for fear of trouble or further inconveniences. The people will not bear sudden alterations; an insurrection may be made after sudden mutation, which may be to the great harm and loss of the realm. Therefore all things shall be well, but not out of hand, for fear of further business." These be the blanchers that hitherto have stopped the word of God, and hindered the true setting forth of the same. There be so many put-offs, so many put-byes, so many respects and considerations of worldly wisdom. And I doubt not but there were blanchers in the old time to whisper in the ear of good King Ezekias, for the maintenance of idolatry done to the brazen serpent, as well as there hath been now of late, and be now, that can blanch the abuse of images, and other like things.

But good King Ezekias would not be so blinded; he was like to Apollos, fervent in spirit. He would give no ear to the blanchers; he was not moved with the worldly respects, with these prudent considerations, with these policies: he feared not insurrections of the people: he feared not lest his people would not bear the glory of God, but he (without any of these respects, or policies, or considerations, like a good king, for God's sake and for conscience sake) by and by plucked down the brazen serpent, and destroyed it utterly, and beat it to powder. He out of hand did cast out all images, he destroyed all idolatry, and clearly did extirpate all superstition. He would not hear these blanchers and worldly wise men, but without delay followeth God's cause, and destroyeth all idolatry out of hand.

And good hope there is that it shall be likewise here in England ; for the King's majesty is so brought up in knowledge, virtue and godliness that it is not to be mistrusted but that we shall have all things well, and that the glory of God shall be spread abroad throughout all parts of the realm, if the prelates will diligently apply their plough, and be preachers rather than lords. But our blanchers, which will be lords, and no labourers, when they are commanded to go and be resident upon their cures, and preach in their benefices, they would say, Why ? I have set a deputy there ; I have a deputy that looketh well to my flock, and the which shall discharge my duty. A deputy, quoth he, I looked for that word all this while. And what a deputy must he be, trow ye ? Even one like himself ; he must be a canonist : that is to say, one that is brought up in the study of the pope's laws and decrees ; one that will set forth papistry as well as himself will do ; and one that will maintain all superstition and idolatry ; and one that will nothing at all, or else very weakly, resist the devil's plough ; yea, happy it is if he take no part with the devil : and where he should be an enemy to him, it is well if he take not the devil's part against Christ.

But in the mean time, the prelates take their pleasures. They are lords and no labourers ; but the devil is diligent at his plough. He is no unpreaching prelate : He is no lordly loiterer from his cure ; but a busy ploughman ; so that among all the prelates, and among all the pack of them that have cure, the devil shall go for my money, for he still applieth his business. Therefore, ye unpreaching prelates, learn of the devil : to be diligent in doing of your office, learn of the devil : and if you will not learn of God, nor good men, for shame learn of the devil ; *ad erubescentiam vestram dico,* " I speak it for your shame " : If you will not learn of God, nor good men, to be diligent in your office, learn of the devil. Howbeit there is now very good hope that the King's majesty, being by the help of good governance of his most honourable counsellors trained and brought up in learning and knowledge of God's word, will shortly provide a remedy, and set an order herein. Which thing that it may so be, let us pray for him. Pray for him, good people ; pray for him. Ye have great cause and need to pray for him.

LANCELOT ANDREWES (1555-1626)

In the year that Latimer died at the stake Lancelot Andrewes was born, and lived to take part in the Coronation of Charles I. His pulpit style belongs to the Elizabethan era, midway between the raciness of the Edwardian preachers and the Jacobean eloquence of Donne. From the modern, reading his sermons in cold print, they demand a little effort of appreciation. Pattison sneers at Andrewe's "witty conundrum-making." Hare speaks of him as " a writer of such a singular, abrupt, jagged, tangled style, in reading whom one seems to be walking through a thicket crammed with thoughts and thoughtlets, and is caught at every tenth step by some out-jutting briar." A generation after Andrewes' death Aubrey wrote :—

" He had not that smooth way of oratory as now. It was a shrewd and severe animadversion of a Scotish lord who, when King *James* asked him how he liked Bishop A.'s sermon, sayd that he was learned, that he did play with his text as a Jack-an-apes does, who takes up anything and tosses and plays with it, and then he takes up another and playes a little with it. Here's a pretty thing, and there's a pretty thing ! " [1]

But, as regards Aubrey, no generation tolerates the taste of the age just before it, while the Scots intellect is not very appreciative of playfulness. Again, it is in a vein of Georgian gentility that Birch asserts that :—

" The great corruption of the oratory of the pulpit may be ascribed to Dr. *Andrewes*, whose high reputation on other accounts gave a sanction to that vicious taste introduced by him several years before the death of Queen *Elizabeth*. The pedantry of King *James* I's court completed the degeneracy of all true eloquence, so that the most applauded preachers of that time are now insupportable." [2]

[1] *Brief Lives*, ed. Clarke, i, 31.
[2] *Life of Tillotson*, ed. 1752, pp. 19, 20.

On the other hand, Andrewes' contemporaries, who knew what English was and who actually heard him, styled him "the Star of preachers" and "an Angel in the pulpit." It was a fastidiously intellectual age. Yet Andrewes' preaching fascinated Elizabeth and James, two very acute judges, and left a sting behind, we are told, even in courtiers' consciences. Harington mentions Henry Nowell, "one of the greatest gallants of those times, who swore, as he was a gentleman, he never heard man speak with such a spirit." His delivery doubtless added much to his matter. Fuller declares that "such plagiaries who have stolen his sermons could never steal his preaching." And, whereas a modern Presbyterian writer, Dr. Alexander Whyte, declares that the magnificent doctrine of justification "never gave Andrewes wings, never fused or took the slag out of his style: he can pray as no other man can pray, but he cannot preach, to be called preaching," Winstanley, not many years after Andrewes' death, tells us that "what was storied of *Orpheus* may fitly be applied to this learned Bishop, who with his heavenly Oratory drew many stony senseless hearts out of the Captivity of Satan into the glorious freedom of the Gospel of Jesus Christ."[1]

Andrewes' chaplain and successor, Bishop Buckeridge, believed that "few of his solemn sermons but were thrice between the hammer and the anvil before they were preacht, and he ever misliked often and loose preaching without study of antiquity." Buckeridge and Laud, in publishing their master's sermons, by King Charles's command, in 1630, deprecated the estimation of them by their "paper life," but felt sure that "the Christian world hath not many such bodies of sermons as we here present." The King commended them to his children when they took their last leave of him in prison.

The one here printed, on the "Power of the Keys," was one of the last preached before Elizabeth, viz., on March 30, 1600,

[1] *Worthies*, 1659.

at Whitehall, and created a good deal of stir. Rowland White wrote thus about it to Sir Robert Sydney.[1]

" Dr. *Andrewes* made a strange sermon at Court on Sunday ; his text was the xx. chapter of the Gospel of St. *John*, the 23rd verse, touching the forgiveness of sins upon earth. That contrition, without confession and absolution and deeds worthy of repentance, was not sufficient. That the ministers had the two keys of power and knowledge delivered unto them ; that whose sins soever they remitted upon earth should be remitted in heaven. The Court is full of it, for such doctrine was not usually taught there. I hear he was with Mr. Secretary about it, it may be to satisfy him."

Yet the authoritative and sacerdotal side of Christianity was not nearly so much depressed in the Elizabethan time as the ceremonial, and Andrewes' own stall in St. Paul's cathedral, that of St. Pancras, carried with it the office of penitentiary or confessioner. Indeed there was a "Confessor of the Household " at the English Court till 1859. And apart from " earconfession," which was still common, the ancient system of open ecclesiastical discipline remained in force. Transplanted, indeed, into the Calvinistic " regiment," it flourished there exceedingly. Nor was the English Prayer Book ambiguous on the subject of penance. It is not quite easy, then, to understand what Elizabeth's courtiers found in the sermon to carp at.

Of the Power of the Keys

Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever ye retain, they are retained.—St. John xx, 23.

They be the words of our Saviour Christ to His Apostles ; a part of the first words which He spake to them at His Epiphany, or first apparition after He rose from the dead. And they contain a commission by Him granted to the Apostles, which is the sum and contents of this verse.

Which commission is His first largesse after His rising again. For at His appearing to them it pleased Him not to come

[1] *Sydney Letters*, ii, 189.

empty but with a blessing, and to bestow on them and on the world by them, as the first fruits of His resurrection, this commission; a part of that commission which the sinful world most of all stood in need of, for remission of sins.

To the granting whereof He proceedeth not without some solemnity or circumstance, well worthy to be remembered.

For first, verse the twenty-first, He saith, "As my Father sent Me, so send I you"; which is their authorizing, or giving them their credence.

Secondly, verse the twenty-second, He doth breathe upon them with the Holy Ghost; which is their enabling or furnishing thereto.

And having so authorized and enabled them, now in this verse here He giveth them their commission.

First, therefore, He imparteth to them a power, a power over sins; over sins, either for the remitting or the retaining of them, as the persons shall be qualified.

And after, to this power He addeth a promise (as the lawyers term it) of ratihabitation, that He will ratify and make it good, that His power shall accompany this power and the lawful use of it in His Church for ever.

And very agreeably is this power now bestowed by Him upon His resurrection. Not so conveniently before His death, because till then "He had not made His soul an offering for sin"; nor till then had He shed His "blood, without which there is no remission of sins." Therefore it was promised before but not given till now, because it was convenient there should be *solutio* before there was *absolutio*. Not before He was risen then.

And again, no longer than till He was risen, not till He was ascended. First, to shew that the remission of sins is the undivided and immediate effect of His death. Secondly, to show how much the world needed it, for which cause He would not withhold it, no, not so much as one day—for this was done in the very day of His resurrection. Thirdly, but especially, to set forth His great love and tender care over us, in this, that as soon as He had accomplished His own resurrection, even presently upon it, He sets in hand with ours, and beginneth the first part of it the very first day of His rising.

The Scripture maketh mention of a first and second death, and from them two of a first and second resurrection. Both

expressly set down in one verse : " Happy is he that hath his part in the first resurrection, for over such the second death hath no power." Understanding by the first the death of the soul by sin, and the rising thence to the life of grace ; by the second the death of the body by corruption, and the rising thence to the life of glory.

Christ truly is the Saviour of the whole man, both soul and body, from the first and second death.

But beginning first with the first, that is with sin, the death of the soul and the rising from it. So is the method of divinity prescribed by Himself : first, to cleanse that which is within—the soul ; then that which is without—the body. And so is the method of physick, first to cure the cause, and then the disease. Now the cause, or, as the Apostle calleth it, " the sting of death, is sin." Therefore first to remove sin, and then death afterwards. For the cure of sin being performed, the other will follow of his own accord. As St. John telleth us, " He that hath His part in the first resurrection shall not fail of it in the second." The " first resurrection " then from sin is it which our Saviour Christ here goeth about, whereto there is no less power required than a divine power. For look, what power is necessary to raise the dead body out of the dust, the very same every way is requisite to raise the dead soul out of sin. For which cause the remission of sin is an article of faith, no less than the resurrection of the body. For in very deed a resurrection it is, and so it is termed no less than that.

To the service and ministry of which divine work a commission is here granted to the Apostles. And first, they have here their sending from God the Father, their inspiring from God the Holy Ghost, their commission from God the Son ; that being thus sent from the Father, by the power of the Holy Ghost, in the person of Christ, they may perform the office, or, as the Apostle calleth it, the embassage, of reconciling sinners unto God, to which they are appointed. And so much for the sum and dependence of this Scripture.

The terms of remitting and retaining may be taken many ways. To the end, then, that we may the more clearly conceive that which shall be said, it will be expedient that first of all we understand in what sense especially and according to what resemblance these terms are to be taken.

This may we best do out of our Saviour Christ's own commission. For this of the Apostles is nothing else but a branch out of His, which He Himself as man had here upon earth. For as man He Himself was sent and anointed with the Spirit, and proceeded by commission.

His commission we find in the fourth chapter of Luke, which He Himself read in the synagogue at Nazareth at His first entering on it; which is originally recorded in the sixty-first chapter of Isaiah. Wherein among others this power is one: to preach ἄφεσιν, that is, "remission," as it is turned here, or "deliverance," as it is turned there; but the word is one in both places, and that respectively to "captives," and, as it followeth in that place of Esay, "to them that are bound the opening of the prison."

Which very term of "captives," or such as are in prison, doth open unto us with what reference or respect this term of remitting, or letting go, is to be conceived. And as it was in His, so must it be understood here in this, since this is but derived from that of Christ's.

The mind of the Holy Ghost then, as in other places by diverse other resemblances, so in this here, is to compare the sinner's case to the estate of a person imprisoned. And, indeed, whoso well weigheth the place, it cannot well be taken otherwise. For not only here but elsewhere, where this power is expressed, it seemeth ever to be with reference as it were to parties committed. The very term of "the keys"—wherein it was promised, and wherein it is most usually delivered—the terms of opening and shutting, seem to have relation as it were to the prison-gate. The terms of binding and loosing, as it were, to the fetters or bands. And these here of letting forth or still detaining, all and every of them seem to have an evident relation to the prisoner's estate, as if sin were a prison, and the case of sinners like their's that are shut up.

Verily, as sin at the first in committing seemeth sweet, that men cannot be got to spit it out (saith Job) but hold it close under their tongues till they have swallowed it down; but after it is committed, the sinner findeth then that it is *malum et amarum dereliquisse Dominum*, saith the Prophet; that it turneth to a bitter and a choleric matter, of which there breedeth "a worm" which never leaveth gnawing: even so doth sin at the first also seem a matter of liberty. For a

liberty it is not to be restrained; not to be, as the Apostle speaketh, committed to Moses, to be "kept and shut up under the law"; not to be forbidden any "fruit," under which very term the serpent did persuade it; but when it is done and past, then shall a man feel a pinching or straitness in his soul, termed by the apostle *στενοχωρία*, which properly signifieth the pain which they suffer that are shut up in a narrow room or some place of little ease.

So speaketh Solomon of sin: "His own wickedness shall attach the sinner, and he shall be holden or pinioned with the cords of his own sin." So St. Peter to Simon Magus: "I perceive thou art (to express the former resemblance) in the gall of bitterness, and (to express the latter) in the bond of iniquity." And St. Paul, that sinners instead of having Moses to their keeper become the devil's captives, and are of him holden and taken "at his will" and pleasure.

Truly some have felt as much as I speak of, and have in pregnant terms complained of it. "I am so fast in prison," saith David, "that I cannot get out." And, "Bring my soul out of prison and I will praise Thee." And, "I will run the way of Thy commandments, when Thou shalt set my heart at liberty."

Peradventure all feel not this presently as soon as they have sinned, nor it may be a good while after. So God told Cain at the beginning: his "sin should be at the door," that is, while he kept within he should not be troubled with it perhaps, but at his coming forth it should certainly attach him. But, saith Moses, let every one that sinneth be sure that "his sin" at last "will find him out"; for he shall no sooner be under arrest of any trouble, sickness, cross or calamity but he shall be shut into his *στενοχωρία* and feel it presently. As the brethren of Joseph.

Yea, though many, even then when they feel this straitness in their soul, make means to put it away for the time, and seem merry and light enough, so many times prisoners be in the gaol till the very day of the assizes come; yet when it is come to that, that *judex est præ foribus*, when the terror of death cometh, and with it "a fearful expectation of judgment," then certainly, then without all doubt, the "anguish" St. Paul speaketh of shall be "upon every soul of every one that doeth evil?" Then, there is no man never so wicked

that with his good will would " die " in his " sins," but would have them released while he is yet *in viâ*, yet " in the way." Then we seek help at such scriptures as this, and call for the persons to whom this commission belongeth. And those whom we have gone by seven years together and never said word to about it, them we are content to speak with, when the counsel and direction they give we are scarce able to receive, and much less to put in practice. As if all our lifetime we believed the permission of sins, as if that were the article of our faith all our life long, and the article of remission of sins never till the point of death.

But now they that have either felt or believed that such an imprisonment there is, will be glad to hear that there is a power whereby they may be enlarged. For which very point, even that there is a *Remittuntur*, what thanks are we eternally bound to render unto God ! For I tell you, *nusquam Angelos apprehendit*, " the Angels never found the like." For " the Angels which kept not their first estate hath He reserved in everlasting chains of darkness to the judgment of the great day." Their chains everlasting, their imprisonment perpetual ; no commission to be sued for them, no *Remittuntur eis*. But with man it is not so. To him deliverance, to him loosing of the chains, to him opening of the prison is promised. For his sins a commission is granted out, his sins have a *Remittuntur*. This is a high and special privilege of our nature, to be had by us in an everlasting thankful remembrance. So that no man needeth now abruptly to say with those in Jeremiah, *Desperavimus*, " we are desperate now," we never shall be forgiven, let us now do what we list. No, but as it is said of Ezra, " Though we have grievously sinned, yet there is hope for all that " ; and, as in Ezekiel, that we may so use the matter that *peccata nostra non erunt nobis in scandalum*, " our sins shall not be our destruction." Which very point is both an especial stay of our hope, and a principal means of manifesting unto us the great goodness of God.

So that thus the case stands : *Remittuntur*, which is God's power, is the primitive or original ; *Remiseritis*, which is the Apostles' power, is merely derived. That in God sovereign, this in the Apostles dependent. In Him only absolute, in them delegate. In Him imperial, in them ministerial.

The power of remitting sin is originally in God, and in God

alone. And in Christ our Saviour, by means of the union of the Godhead and manhood into one Person; by virtue whereof "the Son of Man hath power to forgive sins upon earth."

This power being thus solely invested in God he might without wrong to any have retained and kept to Himself, and without means of word or Sacrament, and without ministers, either Apostles or others, have exercised immediately by Himself from heaven.

But we should then have said of the remission of sins, saith St. Paul: "Who shall go up to Heaven for it, and fetch it thence?" For which cause, saith He, "the righteousness of faith speaketh thus, Say not so in thy heart. The word shall be near thee; in thy mouth, and in thy heart, and this is the word of faith which we preach."

Partly this, that there should be no such difficulty to shake our faith, as once to imagine to fetch Christ from Heaven for the remission of our sins.

Partly also, because Christ, to whom alone this commission was originally granted, having ordained Himself a body would work by bodily things; and having taken the nature of man upon Him would honour the nature He had so taken. For these causes, that which was His and His alone He vouchsafed to impart, and out of His commission to grant a commission, and thereby to associate them to Himself—it is His own word by the Prophet—and to make them *συνέργους*, that is, *co-operators*, "workers together with Him," as the Apostle speaketh, to the work of salvation both of themselves and of others.

From God then it is derived; from God, and to men.

To men, and not to Angels. And this I take to be a second prerogative of our nature. That an angel must give order to Cornelius to send to Joppa for one Simon, to speak words to him by which he and his household should be saved, but the Angel must not be the doer of it. That not to Angels, but to men, is committed this office or embassage of reconciliation. And that which is yet more, to sinful men, for so is the truth, and so themselves confess it. St. Peter: Go from me, Lord, for I am a sinful man." St. James: "In many things we offend all"; putting himself in the number. And, lest we should think it to be but their modesty, St. John speaketh

plainly: "If we say we have no sin"—what then? not, we are proud, and there is no humility in us, but, "we are liars, and there is no truth in us." And this is that which is wonderful in this point, that St. Paul, who confesseth himself "a sinner" and "a chief sinner," *quorum primus ego*, the same concerning another sinner, the incestuous Corinthian, "I forgive it him," saith he, ἐν προσώπῳ τοῦ Χρίστου, "in the person of Christ."

Now if we ask to what men? the text is plain. They to whom Christ said this *Remiseritis* were the Apostles.

In the Apostles, that we may come nearer yet, we find three capacities, as we may term them: (1) As Christians in general; (2) as preachers, priests, or ministers more special; (3) as those twelve persons whom in strict propriety of speech we term the Apostles.

Some things that Christ spake to them He spake to them as representing the whole company of Christians, as His *Vigilate*.

Some things to them, not as Christians, but as preachers or priests; as His *Ite prædicate Evangelium*, and His *Hoc facite*, which no man thinketh all Christians may do.

And some things to themselves personally; as that He had appointed them "witnesses" of His miracles and resurrection, which cannot be applied but to them, and them in person. It remaineth, we enquire, in which of these three capacities Christ imparteth to them this commission.

Not as to Apostles properly. That is, there was no personal privilege to be in them and to die with them, that they should execute it for a time, and none ever after them. God forbid we should so think it. For this power being more than needful for the world, as in the beginning it was said, it was not to be either personal or for a time. Then those persons dying, and those times determining, they in the ages following, as we now in this, that should light into this prison or captivity of sin, how could they or we receive any benefit by it? Of nature it is said by the heathen philosopher, that it doth neither *abundare in superfluis* nor *deficere in necessariis*. God forbid but we should ascribe as much to God at the least, that neither He would ordain a power superfluous or more than needed, or else it being needful would appropriate it unto one age, and leave all other destitute of it; and not rather, as all writers both new and old take it, continue it successively to the world's end.

And as not proper to the Apostles' persons, so neither common to all Christians in general, nor in the persons of all Christians conveyed to them. Which thing the very circumstances of the text do evict. For He sent them first, and after inspired them, and after both these gave them this commission. Now all Christians are not so sent, nor are all Christians inspired with the grace or gift of the Spirit, that they were here. Consequently, it was not intended to the whole society of Christians. Yea, I add, forasmuch as these two, both these two, must go before it, (1) *Missio* and (2) *Inspiratio*, that though God inspire some laymen, if I may have so to term them, with very special graces of knowledge to this end, yet, inasmuch as they have not the former of sending, it agreeth not to them, neither may they exercise it until they be sent, that is, until they have their calling thereunto.

It being then neither personal nor peculiar to them as Apostles, nor again common to all as Christians, it must needs be committed to them as ministers, priests, or preachers, and consequently to those that in that office and function do succeed them, to whom and by whom this commission is still continued. Neither are they that are ordained or instituted to that calling ordained or instituted by any other words or verse than this. Yet not so that absolutely without them God cannot bestow it on whom or when He pleaseth, or that He is bound to this means only, and cannot work without it. For *gratia Dei non alligatur mediis*, "the grace of God is not bound but free," and can work without means either of word or sacrament; and as without means, so without ministers, how and when to Him seemeth good. But speaking of that which is proper and ordinary in the course by Him established, this is an ecclesiastical act committed, as the residue of the ministry of reconciliation, to ecclesiastical persons. And if at any time He vouchsafe it by others that are not such, they be in that case *ministri necessitatis non officii*, "in case of necessity ministers, but by office not so."

Now as by committing this power God does not deprive or bereave Himself of it, for there is a *Remittuntur* still, and that chief, sovereign and absolute: so on the other side, where God proceedeth by the Church's act, as ordinarily He doth, it being His own ordinance, there whosoever will be partaker of the Church's act must be partaker of it by the Apostles'

means. And to exclude them is, after a sort, to wring the keys out of their hands to whom Christ hath given them, is to cancel and make void this clause of *Remiseritis*.

Neither is this a new or strange thing; from the beginning it was so. Under the law of nature, saith Elihu in Job speaking of one for his sins in God's prison, "If there be with him an ambassador, commissioner or interpreter"—not any whosoever, but—"one among a thousand to show unto him his righteousness, then shall God have mercy upon him and say, Let him go, for I have received a propitiation."

Under Moses, it is certain the "covenant of life and peace" was made with Levi, and at the sacrifices for sin he was ever a party.

Under the prophets, it pleased God to use this concurrence towards David himself, Nathan the Prophet saying unto him, *Transtulit Dominus peccatum tuum.*

Which course so established by God till Christ should come—for neither covenant nor priesthood was to endure any longer—was by Christ re-established anew in the Church, in that calling to whom He hath "committed the word of reconciliation." It is St. Augustine that thus speaketh of this ecclesiastical act in his time: *Nemo sibi dicat, Occulte ago pœnitentiam, apud Deum ago. Novit Deus, qui mitis ignoscit, quia in corde ago. Ergo sine causâ dictum est, Quae solveritis in terrâ, soluta erunt in cælo? ergo sine causâ claves datæ sunt Ecclesiæ Dei? Frustramus evangelium Dei, frustramus verba Christi?*

The remission of sins, as it is from God only, so it is by the death and bloodshedding of Christ alone; but for the applying of this unto us there are diverse means established. There is *multiformis gratia*, saith St. Peter, "variety of graces" whereof we are made the "disposers." Now all and every of these means working to the remission of sins, which is the first and greatest benefit our Saviour Christ hath obtained for us, it resteth that we further enquire what that means is in particular that is here imported.

For sure it is, that besides this there are divers acts instituted by God and executed by us, which all tend to the remission of sins.

(1) In the institution of Baptism there is a power to that end. "Be baptized every one of you for the remission of sins,

saith St. Peter to three thousand at once. "Arise and be baptized," saith Ananias to Paul, "And wash away thy sins." And to be short, I believe one baptism for the remission of sins, saith the Nicene Creed.

(2) Again, there is also another power for the remission of sins in the institution of the holy Eucharist. The words are exceeding plain: "This is My blood of the New Testament for the remission of sins."

(3) Besides, in the Word itself there is a like power ordained. "Now are you clean," saith Christ, no doubt from their sins, "*propter sermonem hunc*." And the very name giveth as much, that is entitled "the word of reconciliation."

(4) Further, there is to the same effect a power of Prayer, and that in the priest's prayer. "Call for the priests," saith the Apostle, "and let them pray for the sick person, and if he have committed sin it shall be forgiven him."

All and every of these are acts for the remission of sins; and in all and every of these is the person of the minister required, and they cannot be despatched without him.

But the ceremonies and circumstances that here I find used prevail with me to think that there is somewhat here imparted to them that was not before. For it carrieth no likelihood that our Saviour, bestowing on them nothing here but that which before He had, would use so much solemnity, so diverse and new circumstances, no new or diverse grace being here communicated.

(1) Now for Baptism, it appeareth plainly that the Apostles baptized in a manner from the beginning, which I make no question they did not without a commission.

(2) And for the power of administering the holy Sacrament, it was granted expressly to them by *Hoc facite* before His passion.

(3) The like may we say of the power of preaching, which was given them long before. Even when He sent them, and commanded them to preach the Kingdom of God, which was done before this power was promised which here is bestowed; as will evidently appear, the one being given (*Mat.* x, 7) the other after promised (*Mat.* xvi, 19).

(4) Neither can it be meant of prayer. There is no partition in prayer. "Prayers and supplications are to be made for all men." But here is a plain partition. There is a *quorum*

whose sins are remitted, and another *quorum* whose sins are retained.

Seeing then this new ceremony and solemn manner of proceeding in this are able to persuade any that it was some new power that here was conferred, and not those which before had been (though there be that apply this, others to some one, and others to all of them), I take it to be a power distinct from the former, and, not to hold you long, to be the accomplishment of the promise made of the power of "the keys," which here in this place and in these words is fulfilled, and have therein for me the joint consent of the Fathers. Which, being a different power in itself, is that which we all call the act or benefit of Absolution, in which, as in the rest, there is in the due time and place of it a use for the remission of sins. Whereunto our Saviour Christ, by His sending them, doth institute them and give them the key of authority; and by breathing on them and inspiring them doth enable them, and give them the key of knowledge to do it well; and, having bestowed both these upon them as the stewards of His house, doth last of all deliver them their commission to do it, having so enabled them and authorized them as before. So much for the power.

There is a special use of "the key of knowledge," to direct to whom, and to whom not; since it is not but with advice to be applied, nor "hands hastily to be laid on any man," as the Apostle testifieth; which place is referred by the ancient writers to the act of absolution, and the circumstance of the place giveth no less. But discretion is to be used in applying of comfort, counsel, and the benefit of absolution. Whereby it falleth out sometimes, that the very same sins to some may be remitted, being of the *quorum*, that to some others may not, that are out of it.

To see then a little into this qualification, that thereby we may discern who be of either *quorum*. The conditions to be required, to be of *quorum remittuntur*, are two:—

First, that the party be within the house and family whereto those keys belong, that is, be a member of the Church, be a faithful believing Christian. In the law, the Propitiatory was annexed to the Ark and could not be severed from it; to shew that they must hold of the Ark and could not be severed from it; to shew that they must hold of the Ark, that is, be of the number of the people of God, or else they could not be

partakers of the propitiation for their sins. So saith the Psalmist in the psalm of the Church: *Omnes canales mei erunt in te.* "All the conduit-pipes of all my spiritual graces are conveyed into thee," and are no where else to be had. And namely, of this benefit of remission of sins: "Thou hast, saith he, O Lord, been gracious unto Thy land, etc.; Thou hast forgiven all their iniquity and covered all their sin." But the prophet Esay most plainly: "The people which dwelleth in her," that is, the Church, "they shall have their iniquity forgiven." And to end this point, the Angel, when he interpreteth the name of Jesus, extendeth it no further than thus, that "He shall save His people from their sins." To them then is the benefit of their remission of sins entailed and limited; it is *sors Sanctorum*, and *dos Ecclesiæ*. And they that are of this *quorum* have their certain hope thereof. They that are out of it pertain to the second sort, of them that have their sins retained. The power of the keys reacheth not to them: "What have I to do with them that are without?" saith the Apostle; "them that are without God shall judge." Therefore all Pagans, Infidels, Jews and Turks are without the compass of this *quorum*. For whoso believeth not in Christ, whoso is not a faithful Christian, "shall die in his sins."

But are all that are within this house thereby partakers of this remission? Is there nothing else required? Yes, indeed, there is yet another condition requisite, whereby many are cut off that are within the *quorum* of the Church. And that is, as our Saviour Christ Himself setteth it down, repentance. For He willeth "repentance and remission of sins to be preached in His name"; both these, but repentance first, and then remission of his sins to follow after. So that the sinner that is a member of the Church, if he want this, is not of the former but of the latter *quorum*.

The other condition which must be joined to the former is an unfeigned purpose and endeavour ourselves to remit or let go those sins which we would have by God remitted. For it is not enough to be sorry for sin past, or to seek repentance, no though it be "with tears"; this will not make us of the first *quorum* if there be nothing but this, if there be in our hearts a purpose ourselves to retain and hold fast our old sin still. Esau lifted up his voice with a "great cry and bitter out of measure, and wept," yet even at the same time vowed

in his heart, so soon as his father was dead, to make away his brother. And this purpose of mind, for all his bitter crying and tears, cast him into the latter *quorum*, and made his sins to be retained still. And such is the case of them that would be let go out of prison, but would have liberty to go in and out still to visit the company there, when and as often as them list. So do not the Saints that be of the first *quorum*, to whom God, as "He speaketh peace," so He speaketh this too, "that they turn not thither again," that they fall not again to their former folly.

In which point no less than the former there may he use of "the key of knowledge" to advise and direct ourselves, no less in the cure of sin than in the sorrow for it. They in the second of the Acts which were "pricked in their hearts," knew of themselves that somewhat they should do, as by their question appeareth; but what it was they should do they knew not. Sometimes men have good minds, but know not which way to turn them or set themselves about it. Most usual it is for men at their wit's ends to doubt, not of the power of remitting of sins, but of their own disposition to receive it; and whether they have ordered the matter so that they be within the compass of God's effectual calling.

And here I should now speak somewhat of the applying or use of it, but the time hath overtaken me and will not permit it. Now only a word of the third part, of the efficacy.

Wherein God willing more abundantly to show to them that should be partakers of it the stableness of His counsel, He hath penned it exceeding effectually, and, indeed, strangely to them that deeply consider of it, which He hath so done to the end that thereby such poor sinners as shall be partakers of it might have strong consolation and perfect assurance, not to waver in the hope which is set before them.

Christ hath not thus indited it: Whose sins ye wish or ye pray for; or, Whose sins ye declare to be remitted; but "Whose sins ye remit"; using no other word in the Apostles' than He useth in His own. And to all these in St. Matthew He added His solemn protestation of "Verily, verily," or "Amen, amen," that so it is, and shall be. And all to certify us that He fully meaneth with effect to ratify in heaven that is done in earth, to the sure and steadfast comfort of them that shall partake of it.

JOHN DONNE (1573-1631)

We pass by two strides from the sledge-hammer homeliness of Tudor Latimer, through the spiritually-minded formalism of Andrewes, to what Mr. Gosse styles the " sonorous majesty of the organ-sentences " of Dean Donne, whom Coleridge regarded as the greatest preacher of his century. Dryden, looking back, styled him " the greatest wit, though not the best poet, of our nation." The word " wit " must be understood, of course, with the seventeenth century implication. A hundred years ago the ingenious and somewhat scholastic intellectualism of the Stuart age, the flowering time of English literature, was pronounced " ludicrous," and in consulting Donne's sermons, rich as they are in passages of rhetorical splendour, the reader was advised to be " more attentive to the matter than to the manner." [1]

Yet at Whitehall, or when preaching to the lawyers in Lincoln's-Inn chapel, or to " the Lords of the Council and other honourable persons " at Paul's Cross, Donne had a closely critical and capable congregation. Izaak Walton, in his own exquisite way, thus describes his first sermon before the Court :—

" He went usually, accompanied by some one friend, to preach privately in Villages neere *London :* his first Sermon being preached at *Paddington.* This he did, till his Majestie sent and appointed him a day to preach to him at *Whitehall,* and, though much was expected of him, both by His Majestie and others, yet he was so happy (which few are) as to satisfie and exceed their expectations—preaching the Word so, as shewed his own heart was possest with those very thoughts and joyes that he laboured to distill into others : A Preacher in earnest : weeping sometimes for his Auditory, sometimes with them : always preaching to himselfe, like an Angel from a cloud, though in none ; carrying some, as S. *Paul* was, to

[1] Chalmer's *Biographical Dictionary,* vol xii.

Heaven in holy raptures, and inticing others by a sacred Art and Courtship to amend their lives ; and all this with a most particular grace and an unexpressible addition of comeliness."

Eighty of Deane Donne's 130 Sermons were published nine years after his death, with Walton's Memoir prefixed, but they had been carefully revised by him. Mr. Gosse points out that these sermons, as printed, " are not an exact transcript, or even report, of what Donne said in the pulpit. He was essentially an extempore preacher—a fact which must increase our admiration of the elaboration of thought, richness of illustration, and copious repertory of learning, which dazzled and delighted his hearers."[1] Speaking of his first public sermon, which was preached at Paul's Cross on March 24, 1617, Mr. Gosse observes that to deliver it in an ordinary tone of voice will occupy not less than two hours and forty minutes." It cannot really have been preached in full. One hour was the regulation length of a sermon, as we learn from (among other sources) Donne's own protest against the new practice of congregational " humming "—common enough, however, when St. Chrysostom preached at Constantinople or St. Augustine at Hippo—those " periodical murmurings and noises," those " impertinent interjections," which " swallow up one quarter of the preacher's hour."

A sermon read from manuscript, as Dr. Jessopp remarks, was scarcely tolerated in that age. A successful preacher had to be a " painful " one, who had undergone a severe and systematic training in pulpit oratory, and could commit a long and orderly exposition, mixed with passages of solid eloquence, to memory. " I heard the old King say of a good sermon," wrote Donne in 1627, " that he thought the preacher never had thought of his sermon till he spoke it ; it seemed to him negligently and extemporally spoken. And I knew that he had weighed every syllable for half a year before." Donne rose at four every morning, and studied till ten. He mentions

[1] *Life and Letters of John Donne*, ii, 313.

that the copying of one of his great festival sermons took him eight hours. He rested all Saturday, ate nothing before preaching, even when in the afternoon, nor afterwards till he reached home. The rising puritanism, however, disparaged academic learning and human elaboration. Harington records a saying of Elizabeth's, "when she had on the Friday heard one of these talking preachers commended to her by somebody, and the Sunday after heard a well-laboured sermon which some disgraced as a bosom-sermon that smelt of the candle, 'I pray,' said she, 'let me have your bosom-sermons rather than your lip-sermons; for where the preacher takes pains the auditor takes profit.'" Donne himself was no believer in the inspiration of the moment. He observes:—

"When the Apostle says *Study to be quiet*, methinks he intimates that the less we study for our sermons the more danger there is to disquiet the auditory. Extemporal, unpremeditated sermons, that serve the popular ear, vent for the most part doctrines that disquiet the Church. Study for them, and they will be quiet. Consider ancient fundamental doctrine, and this will quiet and settle the understanding and the conscience."

Donne was no mere pulpit stylist. Behind his preaching were the sins and sorrows of his own life, the abiding memory of a Divine deliverance and a miraculous dispensation of grace. He was hardly as Walton styles him, "a second St. *Austine*," but he was truly a penitent, eager for the conversion of souls to their Saviour. "It hath been my desire," he wrote towards the end, "and God may be pleased to grant it me, that I might die in the pulpit. If not that, that I might take my death in the pulpit, that is, die the sooner by reason of my former labours." His last sermon, preached on a Lenten Friday, certainly hastened his end, and his friends had dissuaded him from it, "but he passionately denyed their requests." "When (to the amazement of some beholders) he appeared in the pulpit, many of them thought he presented himselfe, not to

preach mortification by a living voice, but mortality by a decayed body and a dying face.[1] And doubtlesse many did secretly ask that question in *Ezekiel, Doe these bones live!* or, can that soule organize that tongue to speak so long as the sand in that glasse will move towards its center, and measure out an houre of this dyeing man's unspent life. . . Many that then saw his teares, and heard his faint and hollow voice, professed they thought the text prophetically chosen, and that D. *Donne* had preacht his owne Funerall Sermon."

The text was, "To God the Lord belong the issues from death." The sermon selected for the present volume is the striking one "preached to the Earl of Carlile and his company at Sion." In 1618, by the King's command, Donne had attended John Hay, now Earl of Doncaster, on an embassy to the Palsgrave, James's son-in-law, lately crowned King of Bohemia, and to the Princes of the Union. The deanery of St. Paul's was conferred on Donne in 1620. Hay was created Earl of Carlisle Sept. 13, 1622, so that the sermon is subsequent to that date. Syon House, in the manor of Isleworth, originally a Brigittine nunnery of Henry V's foundation, had been granted in 1604 to Henry, ninth Earl of Northumberland, whose daughter, the Lady Lucy Percy, Hay wedded, *secundis nuptiis*, in 1617. Northumberland was a prisoner in the Tower from 1606 to 1621, under a charge of complicity in the Powder Plot.

The sermon is best known by the heart-shaking passage towards the close about the fearfulness of falling *out* of the hands of the living God. I have given it in the spelling of the edition of 1640.

Falling out of the Hands of God

He that believeth not shall be damned.—St. Mark xvi, 16

The first words that are recorded in the Scriptures to have been spoken by our Saviour are those which he spoke to

[1] Donne's shrouded and cadaverous upright effigy, designed for him before his death, stands in the south choir aisle of St. Paul's, a relic spared by the Great Fire.

his father and mother, then when they had lost him at Jerusalem, *How is it that you sought me? knew yee not that I must be about my Father's businesse?* And the last words which are in this Evangelist recorded to have been spoken by him to his Apostles are then also, when they were to lose him in Jerusalem, when he was to depart out of their presence, and set himselfe in the heavenly Jerusalem, at the right hand of his Father: of which last words of his this Text is a part. In his first words, those to his father and mother, he doth not rebuke their care in seeking him, nor their tendernesse in seeking him (as they told him they did) *with heavy hearts:* But he lets them know, that, if not the bond of nature, nor the reverentiall respect due to parents, then no respect in the world should hold him from a diligent proceeding in that worke which he came for, the advancing the Kingdome of God in the salvation of mankinde. In his last words to his Apostles, he doth not discomfort them by his absence, for he sayes, *I am with you alwayes, even unto the end of the worlde:* But he incourageth them to a chearfull undertaking of their great worke, *the preaching of the Gospel to all Nations*, by many arguments, many inducements, of which one of the waightiest is, That their preaching of the Gospel was not like to be uneffectuall, because he had given them the sharpest spur, and the strongest bridle upon mankinde; *præmium et pœnam*, authority to reward the obedient, and authority to punish the rebellious and refractary man. He put into their hands the double Key of Heaven, and of Hell; power to convey to the beleever Salvation, and upon him that beleeved not to inflict eternall condemnation; *He that beleeveth not, shall be damned.*

That then which man was to beleeve, upon paine of damnation if he did not, being this Commission which Christ gave to his Apostles, we shall make it our first part of this exercise to consider the Commission it selfe, the subject of every man's necessary beliefe; And our second part shall be, the penalty, the inevitable, the irreparable, the intolerable, the inexpressible penalty, everlasting condemnation. And as farre as the narrownesse of the time, and the narrownesse of your patience, and the narrownesse of my comprehension can reach, wee shall shew you the horror, the terror of that fearefull intermination, *Damnabitur, He that believeth not shall be damned.*

First then, it is within this *Credíderit*, that is, it is a matter of faith to believe, that such a Commission there is, that God hath established meanes of salvation, and propagation of His Gospel here. If then this be matter of faith, where is the root of this Faith? from whence springs it? Is there any such thing writ in the heart of man, that God hath proceeded so?

The heart of man is *hortus*, it is a garden, a Paradise, where all that is wholesome, and all that is delightfull growes, but it is *hortus conclusus*, a garden which we ourselves have walled in. It is *fons*, a fountaine, where all knowledge springs, but *fons signatus*, a fountaine that our corruption hath sealed up. The heart is a booke, legible enough, and intelligible in it selfe; but we have so interlined that booke with impertinent knowledge, and so clasped up that booke, for feare of reading our owne history, our owne sins, as that we are the greatest strangers and the least conversant with the examination of our owne hearts. There is then *Myrrhe* in this garden, but wee cannot smell it; and therefore, *All thy garments smell of Myrrhe*, saith *David*, that is, God's garments; those scriptures in which God hath appeared and exhibited his will, they breathe the Balme of the East, the savour of life, more discernably unto us.

In that bundle of Myrrhe, then, where lies this that must necessarily bee believed, this Commission? In that article of the Creed, *Credo Ecclesiam Catholicam*, I believe the holy Catholique Church; For till I come to that graine of Myrrhe, to believe the Catholique Church, I have not the savour of life. Let me take in the first graine of this bundle of *Myrrhe*, the first Article, *Credo in Deum Patrem, I beleeve in God the Father*. By that I have a being, I am a creature, but so is a contemptible worme, and so is a venemous spider as well as I, so is a stinking weed, and so is a stinging nettle, as well as I; so is the earth it selfe, that we tread under our feet, and so is the ambitious spirit, which would have been as high as God, and is lower than the lowest, the devill himself is a creature as well as I. I am but that, by the first Article, but a creature, and I were better if I were not that, if I were no creature (considering how I have used my creation), if there were no more *Myrrhe* in this bundle then that first graine, no more to be got by beleeving but that I were a creature: But take a great deale of this *Myrrhe* together, consider more articles, That *Christ*

is conceived, and *borne*, and *crucified*, and *dead*, and *buried*, and *risen*, and *ascended*, there is some savour in this. But yet, if when we shall come to Iudgement I must carry into his presence a menstruous conscience and an ugly face, in which his Image, by which he should know me, is utterly defaced, all this Myrrhe of his Merits and his Mercies is but a savour of death unto death unto me, since I, that knew the horror of my owne guiltinesse, must know too that, whatsoever he be to others, he is a just judge, and therefore a condemning judge to me. If I get farther then this in the Creed, to the *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, I beleeve in the Holy Ghost.* I lock my doore to my selfe, and I throw my selfe downe in the presence of my God, I devest my selfe of all worldly thoughts, and I bend all my powers and faculties upon God, as I think, and suddenly I finde myselfe scattered, melted, fallen into vaine thoughts, into no thoughts ; I am upon my knees, and I talke, and think nothing ; I reprehend my selfe in it, and I goe about to mend it, I gather new forces, new purposes to try againe, and doe better, and I doe the same thing againe. *I beleeve in the Holy Ghost*, but doe not finde Him, if I seeke him onely in private prayer. But in *Ecclesia*, when I goe to meet him in the *Church*, when I seeke him where he hath promised to bee found, when I seeke him in the execution of that Commission which is proposed to our faith in this Text, in his ordinances, and meanes of salvation in his Church, instantly the savour of this Myrrhe is exalted, and multiplied to me ; not a dew, but a shower is powred out upon me, and presently followes *Communio Sanctorum, the Communion of Saints*, the assistance of Militant and Triumphant Church in my behalfe. And presently followes *Remissio peccatorum, the remission of sins*, the purifying of my conscience in that water which is his blood, Baptisme, and in that wine which is his blood, the other Sacrament. And presently followes *Carnis resurrectio, a resurrection of my body.* My body becomes no burthen to me ; my body is better now then my soul was before ; and even here I have *Goschen* in my *Egypt*, incorruption in the midst of my dunghill, spirit in the midst of my flesh, heaven upon earth. And presently followes *Vita æterna, Life everlasting ;* this life of my body shall not last ever, nay the life of my soul in heaven is not such as it is at the first. For that soule there, even in heaven, shall receive an addition

and an accesse of Joy and Glory in the resurrection of our bodies in the consummation.

When a winde brings the River to any low part of the banke, instantly it overflowes the whole Meadow; when that winde which blowes where he will, *the Holy Ghost*, leads an humble soule to the Article of the Church, to lay hold upon God as God hath exhibited himselfe in his Ordinances, instantly he is surrounded under the blood of Christ Jesus, and all the benefits thereof; *the communion of saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting*, are poured out upon him. And therefore of this great worke which God hath done for man, in applying himselfe to man in the Ordinances of his Church, S. *Augustine* sayes, *Obscuriùs dixerunt Prophetæ de Christo quàm de Ecclesia*, the Prophets have not spoken so clearly of the person of Christ as they have of the Church of Christ; for though S. *Hierom* interpret aright those words of *Adam* and *Eve*, *Erunt duo in carnem unam, They too shall be one flesh*, to be applyable to the union which is betweene Christ and his Church (for so S. *Paul* himselfe applies them) that Christ and his Church are all one as man and wife are all one, yet the wife is (or at least, it had wont to be so) easilier found at home then the husband; wee can come to Christs Church, but we cannot come to him. The Church is a Hill, and that is conspicuous naturally; but the Church is such a Hill as may be seene everywhere. S. *Augustine* askes his Auditory in one of his Sermons, doe any of you know the Hill Olympus? and himselfe sayes in their behalfe, none of you know it; no more, sayes he, do those that dwell at *Olympus* know *Giddabam vestram*, some Hill which was about them. Trouble not thy selfe to know the formes and fashions of forraine particular Churches; neither of a Church in the lake, nor a Church upon seven hils; but since God hath planted thee in a Church where all things necessary for salvation are administred to thee, and where no erronious doctrine (even in the confession of our Adversaries) is affirmed and held, that is the Hill, and that is the Catholique Church, and there is this Commission in this text, meanes of salvation sincerely executed; so then, such a commission there is, and it is in the Article of the Creed, that is the *Ubi*.

We now come in our order, to the third circumstantiall branch, the *Unde*, from whence and when this Commission

issued. In which we consider that, since we receive a deep impression from the words which our friends spake at the time of their death, much more would it worke upon us if they could come and speake to us after their death. You know what *Dives* said, *Si quis ex mortuis*, If one from the dead might goe to my Brethren, he might bring them to any thing. Now, *Primitiæ mortuorum*, the Lord of life, and yet the first borne of the dead, Christ Jesus, returnes againe after his death, to establish this Commission upon his Apostles. It hath therefore all the formalities of a strong and valid Commission. Christ gives it *ex mero motu*, meerely out of his owne goodnesse; He foresaw no merit in us that moved him; neither was he moved by any man's solicitations. For could it ever have fallen into a man's heart to have prayed to the Father that his Son might take our Nature, and dye, and rise again, and settle a course upon earth for our salvation, if this had not first risen in the purpose of God himself? Would any man ever have solicited or prayed him to proceed thus? It was *ex mero motu*, out of his owne goodnesse, and it was *ex certa scientia*, he was not deceived in his grant, he knew what he did, he knew this Commission should be executed, in despight of all Heretiques, and Tyrans that should oppose it. And as it was out of his owne Will, and with his owne knowledge, so it was *ex plenitudine potestatis*, he exceeded not his Power. For Christ made this Commission then when (as it is expressed in the other Evangelist) he produced that evidence, *Data est mihi, All power is given to me in Heaven and in earth.* Where Christ speakes not of that Power which he had by his eternall generation (though even that power were given him, for he was *Deus de Deo*, God of God); nor he speakes not of that Power which was given him as Man, which was great, but all that he had in the first minute of his conception, in the first union of the two Natures, Divine and Humane together; but that Power from which he derives this Commission is that which he had purchased by his blood, and came to by conquest. *Ego vici mundum*, sayes Christ, I have conquered the world, and comming in by conquest, I may establish what forme of Government I will; and my will is, to governe my Kingdome by this Commission, and by these Commissioners, to the Worlds end; to establish these meanes upon earth, for the salvation of the world.

Christ rests not in His *teste meipso*, that himselfe was his witnesse, as Princes used to doe (and as he might have done best of any, because there were alwaies two more that testified with Him, the Father and the Holy Ghost); He rests not in calling some of his Councell and principall Officers to witnesse, as Princes have used too; but in a Parliament of all states, Upper and Common house, Spirituall and Temporall Apostles, Disciples and five hundred Brethren, he testifies this Commission—a Commission, a Church, an outward meanes of Salvation here; such a Commission there is, it is grounded in the Creed, and it was given after his Resurrection.

In which Commission we finde, that it is *Omni Creaturæ*. And that is large enough, without that wilde extent that their S. *Francis* gives it, in the Roman Church, whom they magnifie so much for that religious simplicity, as they call it, who thought himselfe bound literally by this Commission *to preach to all Creatures*, and so did, as we see in his brutish Homilies, *Frater Asine*, and *Frater Bos*, Brother Oxe, and Brother Asse, and the rest of his spiritual kindred. But in this Commission, *Omnis Creatura*, every Creature, is every man; and to every man this Commission extends. Man is every creature, sayes *Origen*, because in him, *tanquam in officina, omnes Creaturæ conflantur*, because all creatures were as it were melted in one forge, and poured into one mold, when man was made. For, there being all the distinctions which are in all creatures, first, a meere being which stones and other inanimate creatures have; and then life and growth, which trees and plants have; and after that, sense and feeling, which beasts have; and lastly, reason and understanding, which Angels have; man hath them all, and so in that respect is every creature, sayes *Origen*. He is so too, sayes *Gregory*, *quia omnis creaturæ differentia in homine*, because all the qualities and properties of all other creatures, how remote and distant, how contrary soever in themselves, yet they all meet in man. In man, if he be a flatterer, you shall finde the groveling and crawling of a Snake; and in a man, if he be ambitious, you shall finde the high flight and piercing of the Eagle; in a voluptuous, sensual man, you shall finde earthlinesse of the Hog; and in a licentious man, the intemperance and distemper of the Goate; ever lustfull, and ever in a fever; ever in sicknesses contracted by that sin, and yet ever in a desire to

proceed in that sin; and so man is every creature in that respect, sayes *Gregory*. But he is especially so, sayes S. *Augustine, quia omnis creatura propter hominem*, All creatures were made for man, man is the end of all. And so we passe from the circumstances of the Commission, that it is, And where it is, And whence it comes, And whither it goes, to the substance it selfe.

This is expressed in three actions; first, *Ite predicate, Goe and preach the Gospel;* And then, *Baptizate, Baptize in the Name of the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost;* And *Docete servare, Teach them to observe all those things* which I have commanded you. First preach the Gospel, that is, plant the roote, faith; then administer the Sacraments, that is, water it, cherish it, fasten and settle it with that seale; and then procure good works, that is, produce the blessed fruit of this faith and these Sacraments. *Qui non crediderit hoc, he that does not beleeve* all this, *shall be damned.*

First then, *Qui non crediderit*, He that hath this Apostleship, this ministry of reconciliation, he that is a Commissioner for these new buildings, to erect the kingdome of God by the Gospel, and does not beleeve, and shew by his practise that he does beleeve, himselfe to be bound to preach, he is under the penalty of this Text. When, therefore, the Jesuit *Maldonat* pleases himselfe so well, that, as he sayes, he cannot chuse but laugh when the Calvinists satisfie themselves in doing that duty, that they doe preache; for, sayes he, *Docetis, sed nemo misit*, You doe preach, but you have no calling; if it were not too serious a thing to laugh at, would he not allow us to be as merry, and say too, *Missi estis, sed non docetis*, Perchance you may have a calling, but I am sure you do not preach? For if we consider their practise, their secular Clergy, those which have the care of soules in Parishes, they doe not preache; and if we consider their Lawes and Canons, their Regular Clergy, their Monks and Fryers should not preach abroad, out of their own Cloysters. And preaching was so far out of use amongst them as that in these later ages, under *Innocentius* the third, they instituted *Ordinem prædicantium*, an order of Preachers; as though there had been no order for preaching in the Church of God till within these foure hundred yeares.

I cannot remember that in any History, for matter of fact,

nor in the framing or institution of any State, for matter of law, there hath ever been such a law, or such a practise, as that of Preaching. Every where amongst the Gentils, (particularly amongst the Romans, where there was a publique Office to be *Conditor Precum*, according to emergent occasions, to make Collects and Prayers for the publique use) we finde some resemblance, some representation of our common Prayer, our Liturgie; and in their ablutions and expiations we finde some resemblance of our Sacraments; but no where any resemblance of our Preaching. Certaine anniversary Panegyriques they had in Rome, which were Coronation Sermons, or Adoption Sermons, or Triumph Sermons, but all those, upon the matter, were but civill Commemorations. But this Institution of keeping the people in a continuall knowledge of their religious duty, by continuall preaching, was onely an ordinance of God himselfe for God's own people.

What was this former wisdome of God, that could not save man? It was twofold. First, God in his wisdome manifests a way to man, to know the Creator by the creature, *That the invisible things of him might be seen by the visible.* And this gracious and wise purpose of God took not effect, because man, being brought to the contemplation of the creature, rested and dwelt upon the beauty and dignity of that, and did not passe by the creature to the Creator. And then Gods wisedome was further expressed in a second way, when God manifested himselfe to Man by his Word, in the Law and in the Prophets. And then, man resting in the letter of the law, and going no farther, and resting in the outside of the Prophets, and going no farther, not discerning the Sacrifices of the Law to be types of the death of Christ Jesus, nor the purpose of the Prophets to be, to direct us upon that Messias, that Redeemer, *Ipsa, quæ per Prophetas locuta est, sapientia*, sayes *Clement*, the wisdome of God in the mouth of the Prophets could not save man. And then, when the wisdome of Nature, and the wisdome of the Law, the wisdome of the Philosophers, and the wisdome of the Scribes, became defective and insufficient, by man's perversenesse, God repayred and supplyed it by a new way, but in a strange way, by the foolishnesse of preaching. For it is not onely to the subject, to the matter, to the doctrine, which they were to preach, that this foolishnesse is referred. To preach glory by adhering to an inglorious person, lately

executed for sedition and blasphemy ; to preach salvation from a person whom they saw unable to save himselfe from the Gallowes ; to preach joy from a person whose soule was heavy unto death, this was *scandalum Iudæis ;* but *Græcis stultitia,* sayes the Apostle there, the Gentils thought this doctrine meere *foolishnesse.* But not onely the matter, but the manner, not onely the Gospel, but even preaching was a foolishnesse in the eyes of man. For if such persons as the Apostles were, heires to no reputation in the State by being derived from great families, bred in no Universities, nor sought to for learning, persons not of the civilest education, sea-men, fishermen, not of the honestest professions (*Matthew* but a Publican) if such persons should come into our streets and porches, and preache (I doe not say, such doctrine as theirs seemed then), but if they should preach at all, should not we thinke this a meere foolishnesse ? Did they not mock the Apostles, and say they were drunke, as early as it was in the morning ? Did not those two sects of Philosophers who were as farre distant in opinions as any two could be, the Stoiques and the Epicureans, concurre in defaming S. *Paul* for preachinge when they called him *Seminiverbium,* a babbling and prating fellow ? But the foolishnesse of God is wiser then men, said the Apostle ; and out of that wisdome God hath shut us all under the penalty of this Text, if we that are preachers, and you that are hearers, do not beleeve that this preaching is the ordinance of God, for the salvation of soules.

This then is matter of faith, that preaching is the way, and this is matter of faith too, that that which is preached must be matter of faith ; for the Commission is *Prædicate euangelium* Preach, but preach the Gospel. And that is, first, *Euangelium solum,* Preach the Gospel only, adde nothing to the Gospel ; and then *Euangelium totum,* Preach the Gospel intirely, defalke nothing, forbeare nothing of that. First, then, we are to preach, you are to heare, nothing but the Gospel. And we may neither postdate our Commission, nor interline it ; nothing is Gospel now which was not Gospel then, when Christ gave his Apostles their Commission. So also if ye hearken to them who tell you that, though the blood of Christ be sufficient in value for you, and for all, yet you have no meanes to be sure that he meant his blood to you, but you must passe in this world, and passe out of this world, in doubt,

and that it is well if you come to Purgatory, and be sure there of getting to heaven at last; these men preach not the Gospel, because the Gospel is the history, and the use; and this is not the true use.

And thus it is, if wee take the Gospell from the Schoole; but if we take it from the Schoolemaster, from Christ himselfe, the Gospell is repentance, and remission of sinnes. For he came, *that repentance and remission of sinnes should be preached in his Name.* If then they will tell you, that you need no such repentance for a sinne as amounts to a contrition, to a sorrow for having offended God, to a detestation of the sinne, to a resolution to commit it no more, but that it is enough to have an attrition (as they will needs call it) a servill feare, and sorrow that you have incurred the torments of hell; or if they will tell you, that, when you have had this attrition, that the clouds of sadnesse and of dejection of spirit have met, and beat in your conscience, and that the allision of those clouds have brought forth a thunder, a fearefull apprehension of God's Judgements upon you; and when you have had your contrition too, that you have purged your soule in an humble confession, and have let your soule blood in a true and sharpe remorse, and compunction, for alle sinnes past, and put that bleeding soule into a bath of repentant teares, and into a bath of blood, the blood of Christ Jesus in the Sacrament, and feele it faint and languish there, you[1] receive no assurance of remission of sinnes, so as that it can levy no fine that can conclude God, but still are afraid that God will still incumber you with yesterdayes sinnes againe to morrow; if this be their way, they doe not preach the Gospell, because they doe not preach all the Gospell; for the Gospell is repentance and remission of sinnes; that is, the necessity of repentance, and then the assurednesse of remission, goe together.

The seale is the administration of the Sacraments, as we said at first, of both Sacraments. Of the Sacrament of Baptisme there can be no question, for that is literally and directly within the Commission, *Goe and Baptize,* and then *Qui non crediderit.* Salvation may bee had in divers cases by faith without Baptisme, but in no case by Baptisme without faith; For as that is true, *in adultis,* in persons which are come to yeares of discretion, which S. *Hierome* sayes, *fieri non potest,*

[1] I suggest this emendation. The text has "and" for "you."

it is impossible to receive the Sacrament of Baptisme except the soul have received *Sacramentum fidei*, the Sacrament of faith, that is the Word preached, except he have been instructed and chatechized before, so there is a necessity of Baptisme after, for any other ordinary meanes of salvation, that God hath manifested to his Church. And therefore *quos Deus conjunxit*, those things which God hath joyned in this Commission, let no man separate; *Except a man bee borne of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdome of heaven.* Let no man reade that place disjunctively, *of Water or the Spirit*, for there must bee both; S. *Peter* himselfe knew not, how to separate them, *Repent and bee baptized every one of you*, saith he; for, for any one that might have beene, and was not, baptized, S. *Peter* had not that seale to plead for his salvation.

The Sacrament of Baptisme, then, is within this *Crediderit*, it must necessarily be beleeved to be necessary for salvation. But is the other Sacrament of the Lord's Supper so too? Is that within this Commission? Certainly it is, or at least within the equity, if not within the letter, pregnantly implyed, if not literally expressed. For thus it stands, they are commanded *to teach all things that Christ had commanded them;* and then S. *Paul* sayes, *I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Iesus tooke bread, etc.* (and so hee proceeds with the Institution of the Sacrament) and then he adds that Christ said, *Doe this in remembrance of me.*

In the Primitive Church there was an erronious opinion of such an absolute necessity in taking this Sacrament as that they gave it to persons when they were dead; a custome which was growne so common as that it needed a Canon of a Councell to restraine it. But the giving of this Sacrament to children newly baptized was so generall, even in pure times, as that we see so great men as *Cyprian* and *Augustine* scarce lesse than vehement for the use of it. And some learned men in the Reformed Church have not so far declined it but that they call it *Catholicam consuetudinem*, a Catholique, an universall, custome of the Churche. But there is a farre greater strength both of naturall and spirituall faculties required for the receiving of this Sacrament of the Lord's Supper then the other of Baptisme. But for those who have those faculties that they are now, or now should be, able to discerne the Lords

body, and their owne soules, besides that inestimable and inexpressible comfort which a worthy receiver receives as often as he receives that seale of his reconciliation to God, it is a service to God and to his Church to come frequently to this Communion. For truly (not to shake or afright any tender conscience) I scarce see how any man can satisfie himselfe that he hath said the Lords Prayer with a good conscience, if at the same time he were not in such a disposition as that he might have received the Sacrament too ; for, if he be in charity, he might receive, and if he be not, he mocked Almighty God, and deluded the Congregation, in saying the Lords Prayer.

The best arguments we can prove our Sermons by is our owne life. The whole weekes conversation is a good paraphrase upon the Sundayes Sermon. It is too soone to aske when the clocke stroke eleven, Is it a good preacher ? for I have but halfe his Sermon then, his owne life is the other halfe ; and it is time enough to aske the Saterday after, whether the Sundayes Preacher preach well or no ; for he preaches poorely that makes an end of his sermon upon Sunday. He preaches on all the weeke, if he live well, to the edifying of others. If we say well, and doe ill, we are so far from the example of Gods children, which built with one hand, and fought with the other, as that, if we doe build with one hand, in our preaching, we pull down with the other in our example, and not only our own, but other mens buildings too ; for the ill life of particular men reflects upon the function and ministery in generall.

And as it is with us, if we divorce our words and our workes, so it is with you, if you doe divorce your faith and your workes. God hath given his Commission under seale, *Preach and Baptize ;* God lookes for a returne of this Commission under seale too ; *Believe, and bring forth fruits worthy of beliefe.* The way that *Iacob* saw to Heaven, was a ladder ; It was not a faire and an easie stair case, that a man might walke up without any holding. But *manibus innitendum,* sayes S. *Augustine ;* in the way to salvation there is use of hands, of actions, of good works, of a holy life. *Servate omnia,* doe then all that is commanded, all that is within the Commission. If that seeme impossible, doe what you can, and you have done all ; for then is all this done *cum quod non fit ignoscitur,* when God forgives that which is left undone. But God

forgives none of that which is left undone out of a wilfull and vincible ignorance. And therefore search thy conscience. And then Christs commandement enters, *Scrutamini Scripturas*, then search the Scriptures; for till then, as long as thy conscience is foule, it is but an allusion to apprehend any peace or any comfort in any sentence of the Scripture, in any promise of the Gospell: search thy conscience, empty that, and then search the Scriptures, and thou shalt finde abundantly enough to fill it with peace and consolation; for this is the summe of all the Scriptures, *Qui non crediderit hoc, He that believes not this*, that he must be saved by hearing the word preached, by receiving the Sacraments, and by working according to both, is within the penalty of this text, *Damnabitur, He shall be damned.*

But what this damnation is, neither the tongue of good Angels that know damnation by the contrary, by fruition of salvation, nor the tongue of bad Angels who know damnation by a lamentable experience, is able to express it. A man may saile so at sea as that he shall have laid the North Pole flat, that shall be fallen out of sight, and yet he shall not have raised the South Pole, he shall not see that. So there are things in which a man may goe beyond his reason, and yet not meet with faith neither: of such a kinde are those things which concerne the locality of hell, and the materiality of the torments thereof. For that hell is a certaine and limited place, beginning here and ending there, and extending no farther, or that the torments of hell be materiall or elementary torments, which in naturall consideration can have no proposition, no affection, nor appliablenesse to the tormenting of a spirit, these things neither settle my reason, nor binde my faith; neither opinion, that it is or is not so, doth command our reason so but that probable reasons may be brought on the other side; neither opinion doth so command our faith but that a man may be saved, though hee thinke the contrary; for in such points it is alwaies lawful to thinke so as we finde does most advance and exalt our owne devotion and Gods glory in our estimation. But when we shall have given to those words, by which hell is expressed in the Scriptures, the heaviest significations that either the nature of those words can admit, or as they are types and representations of hell, as *fire*, and *brimstone*, and *weeping*, and *gnashing*, and *darknesse*, and *the worme*, and as

they are laid together in the Prophet, *Tophet* (that is, hell) *is deepe and large* (there is the capacity and content, roome-enough). *It is a pile of fire and much wood* (there is the durablenesse of it) *and the breath of the Lord to kindle it, like a streame of Brimstone*, (there is the vehemence of it:) when all is done, the hell of hells, the torment of torments, is the everlasting absence of God, and the everlasting impossibility of returning to his presence. *Horrendum est*, sayes the Apostle, *It is a fearefull thing to fall into the hands of the living God.* Yet there was a case in which *David* found an ease to fall into the hands of God, to scape the hands of men. *Horrendum est*, when Gods hand is bent to strike, *it is a fearefull thing, to fall into the hands of the living God;* but to fall out of the hands of the living God is a horror beyond our expression, beyond our imagination.

That God should let my soule fall out of His hand into a bottomlesse pit, and roll an unremovable stone upon it, and leave it to that which it finds there (and it shall finde that there which it never imagined, till it came thither) and never thinke more of that soule, never have more to doe with it; that of that providence of God that studies the life of every weed and worme and ant and spider and toad and viper there should never, never, any beame flow out upon me; that that God who looked upon me when I was nothing, and called me when I was not, as though I had been, out of the womb and depth of darknesse, will not looke upon me now, when, though a miserable and a banished and a damned creature, yet I am His creature still, and contribute something to his glory, even in my damnation; that that God, who hath often looked upon me in my foulest uncleannesse, and when I had shut out the eye of the day, the Sunne, and the eye of the night, the Taper, and the eyes of all the world, with curtaines and windowes and doores, did yet see me, and see me in mercy, by making me see that he saw me, and sometimes brought me to a present remorse and (for that time) to a forbearing of that sinne, should so turne himselfe from me, to his glorious Saints and Angels, as that no Saint nor Angel, nor Christ Jesus himselfe, should ever pray him to looke towards me, never remember him that such a soule there is; that that God who hath so often said to my soule, *Quare morieris?* Why wilt thou die? and so often sworne to my soule, *Vivit Dominus*, As the Lord liveth, I would not have thee dye, but live, will

neither let me dye, nor let me live, but dye an everlasting life, and live an everlasting death ; that that God who, when he could not get into me by standing and knocking, by His ordinary meanes of entring, and by his Word, his mercies, hath applied his judgements, and hath shaked the house, this body, with agues and palsies, and set this house on fire with fevers and calentures, and frighted the Master of the house, my Soule, with horrors and heavy apprehensions, and so made an entrance into me ; that that God should frustrate all his owne purposes and practises upon me, and leave me, and cast me away, as though I had cost him nothing; that this God at last should let this soule goe away, as a smoake, as a vapour, as a bubble, and that then this soule cannot be a smoake, a vapour, nor a bubble, but must lie in darknesse, as long as the Lord of light is light it selfe, and never sparke of that light reach to my soule ; What Tophet is not Paradise, what Brimstone is not Amber, what gnashing is not a comfort, what gnawing of the worme is not a tickling, what torment is not a marriage bed, to this damnation, to be secluded eternally, eternally, eternally, from the sight of God ? Especially to us ; for, as the perpetuall loss of that is most heavy with which we have been best acquainted, and to which wee have been most accustomed, so shall this damnation, which consists in the losse of the sight and presence of God, be heavier to us then others, because God hath so graciously and so evidently and so diversly appeared to us, in his pillar of fire, in the light of prosperity, and in the pillar of the Cloud, in hiding himselfe for a while from us. We that have seene him in all the parts of this Commission, in his Word, in his Sacraments and in good example, and not beleeved, shall be further removed from his sight, in the next world, then they to whom he never appeared in this. But *vincenti and credenti*, to him that beleeves aright, and overcomes all tentations to a wrong beliefe, God shall give the accomplishment of fulnesse, and fulnesse of joy, and joy rooted in glory, and glory established in eternity; and this eternity is God. To him that beleeves and overcomes God shall give himselfe in an everlasting presence and fruition, *Amen.*

WILLIAM LAUD (1573-1645)

It is not very often that a Primate of All England is publicly executed, or that a sermon is preached by the side of a block and waiting axe. Among historic sermons, then, a place must be found for Archbishop Laud's discourse upon the scaffold. The original sentence upon the aged patriarch had been death by hanging, which the Commons for a time insisted should take place, until a scandalized public opinion compelled them to consent to the Archbishop's petition that he might be beheaded. It was noted by Heylin as a coincidence that January 10 was the feast of St. William, archbishop of Bourges, to whose career Laud's bore some resemblance.

On a medal struck after the even deeper tragedy of 1649, Laud is described as "præcursor Caroli." The immense significance of these two blood-sheddings is this, that they proved that the real "Reformation principle" of a purified Catholicism was—what had hitherto hung in the balance—a working one, not a paper theory, and that the reformed Church of England, in spite of many ambiguities and failings, was a spiritual mother for whose love the highest and greatest would resolvedly lay down their lives.

The subjoined account of Laud's decollation is taken from the seventh edition (1747) of *England's Black Tribunal.*

A perfect Relation of the Suffering and Execution of the Most Reverend Father in God, William *Lord Archbishop of Canterbury: With his Last Dying Speech and Deportment on the Scaffold, Jan.* 10, 1644.

The time between the sentence and the execution he spent in prayers and applications to the Lord his God; having obtained, though not without some difficulty, a chaplain of his own to attend upon him, and to assist him in the work of his preparation: though little preparation needed to receive that blow, which could not but be welcome, because long expected. For so well was he studied in the art of dying (especially in the last and strictest part of his imprisonment) that, by continual fasting, watching, prayers, and such like acts of

Christian humiliation, his flesh was rarefied into spirit, and the whole man so fitted for eternal glories, that he was more than half in Heaven before Death brought his bloody (but triumphant) chariot to convey him thither. Friday, Jan. 10, 1644, the fatal morning being come, he first applied himself to his private prayers, and so continued 'till Pennington, and others of their publick officers, came to conduct him to the scaffold, which he ascended with so brave a courage, such a chearful countenance, as if he had mounted rather to behold a triumph than to be made a sacrifice, and came not there to die, but to be translated. And, to say truth, it was no scaffold, but a throne, a throne whereon he shortly was to receive a crown, even the most glorious crown of martyrdom. And though some rude, uncivil people reviled him as he passed along with opprobrious language, as loth to let him go to the grave in peace, it never discomposed his thoughts, nor disturbed his patience: for he had profited so well in the school of Christ, that "when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened [not], but committed his cause to him that judgeth righteously." And as he did not fear the frowns, so neither did he covet the applause, of the vulgar herd; and therefore rather chose to read what he had to speak unto the people than to affect the ostentation either of memory or wit in that dreadful agony. . . . .

The speech and prayer being ended, he gave the prayer, which he read, unto Dr. Sterne, desiring him to show it to his other chaplains, that they might know how he departed out of this world, and so prayed God to shew his mercies and blessings on them. And noting how one Hind had employed himself in taking a copy of his speech as it came from his mouth, he desired him not to do him wrong in publishing a false or imperfect copy. . . This done, he next applied himself to the fatal block, as to the haven of his rest; but finding the way full of people, who had placed themselves upon the theatre to behold the tragedy, he desired he might have room to die, beseeching them to let him have an end of his miseries, which he had endured very long. All which he did with so serene and calm a mind as if he had been rather taking order for another man's funeral, than making way unto his own. Being come near the block, he put off his doublet, and used some words to this effect: "God's Will be done, I am willing to go

out of this world, no man can be more willing to send me out of it." And seeing through the chinks of the boards that some people were got under the scaffold, about the very place where the block was seated, he called on the officers for some dust to stop them, saying, it was no part of his desires that his blood should fall upon the heads of the people. Never did man put off mortality with a braver courage, nor look upon his bloody and malicious enemies with more Christian charity; and thus far he was gone on in his way towards Paradise with such a primitive magnanimity as equall'd, if not exceeded, the example of ancient martyrs, when he was somewhat interrupted in his quiet passage by one Sir John Clotworthy, a firebrand brought from Ireland by the Earl of Warwick, to increase the combustions in this kingdom, who finding that the mockings and revilings of malicious people had no power to move him, or sharpen him into any discontent or shew of passion, would needs put in and try what he could do with his spunge and vinegar; and stepping to him near the block, asked him (with such a purpose as the Scribes and Pharisees used to propose questions to our Lord and Saviour), not to learn by him, but to tempt him, or to expose him to some disadvantage with the standers-by, which was the comfortablest saying which a dying man could have in his mouth? To which he meekly made this answer, *Cupio dissolvi, et esse cum Christo; i.e.*, "I desire to be dissolv'd, and to be with Christ." Being asked again, What was the fittest speech a man could use, to express his confidence and assurance? he answered with the same spirit and meekness, that such assurance was to be found within, and that no words were able to express it rightly. Which when it would not satisfy the troublesome and impertinent man (who aimed at something else than such satisfaction) unless he gave some word or place of Scripture, whereupon such assurance might be truly founded, he used some words to this effect, That it was the Word of God concerning Christ and his dying for us. And so without expecting any further questions (for he perceived, by the manner of Sir John's proceedings, that there would be no end of his interruptions, if he hearken'd any longer to him) he turned towards his executioner (the gentler and discreeter man of the two) and gave him money, saying, without the least distemper or change of countenance, "Here, honest

friend, God forgive thee, and do thy office upon me with mercy" ; and having given a sign when the blow should come, he kneeled down upon his knees, and pray'd as followeth :—

"Lord, I am coming as fast as I can, I know I must pass through the shadow of death before I can come to see thee : but it is but *umbra mortis*, a meer shadow of death, a little darkness upon nature ; but thou by thy merits and passion hast broke through the jaws of death. So, Lord, receive my soul, and have mercy upon me, and bless this kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ's sake, if it be thy will."

Then laying his head upon the block, and praying silently to himself, he said aloud, *Lord, receive my soul*, which was the signal given to the executioner, who very dexterously took it off at one blow, his soul ascending on the wings of Angels into Abraham's bosom, and leaving his body on the scaffold to the care of men ; a spectacle so unpleasing unto most of those who had desir'd his death with much heat and passion, that many who came with greedy eyes to see him suffer went back with weeping eyes when they saw him dead. . . .

It was observed that whereas other men, when they come to the block, use to look pale, and wan, and ghastly, and are even dead before the blow, he, on the contrary, seemed more fresh and chearful than he had done any part of the day before ; a clear and gallant spirit being like the sun, which shews greatest always at the setting. And as the Scripture tells us of St. Stephen, the Protomartyr, that, whilst he spake his last oration before the chief priests and elders of the Jews, "they of the Council, looking steadfastly upon him, saw his face as if it had been of an angel" : so was it generally observ'd, not without astonishment, that all the while our Martyr prayed upon the block, the sun, which had not shewn itself all the day till then, did shine directly on his face, which made him look most comfortably (that I say not gloriously), but presently, as soon as the blow was given, withdrew behind a cloud again, and appeared no more.

A Sermon from the Scaffold

Good People,

This is an uncomfortable time to preach ; yet I shall begin with a text of Scripture, *Heb.* xii, 2. "Let us run with

patience that race which is set before us, looking unto Jesus the Author and Finisher of our Faith ; who for the joy that was set before him, endured the Cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God."

I have been long in my race ; and how I have looked to Jesus, the Author and Finisher of my Faith, he best knows : I am now come to the end of my race ; and here I find the Cross, a death of shame : but the shame must be despised, or no coming to the right hand of God. Jesus despised the shame for me ; and God forbid but I should despise the shame for him. I am going apace (as you see) towards the Red Sea, and my feet are now upon the very brink of it ; an argument, I hope, that God is bringing me into the Land of Promise, for that was the way through which he led his people : but before they came to it, he instituted a passover for them ; a Lamb it was, but it must be eaten with sour herbs. I shall obey, and labour to digest the sour herbs, as well as the Lamb : and I shall remember it is the Lord's Passover : I shall not think of the herbs, nor be angry with the Hand which gathereth them ; but look up only to him who instituted that, and governs these ; for men can have no more power over me than what is given them from above. I am not in love with this passage through the Red Sea, for I have the weakness and infirmities of flesh and blood plentifully in me : and I have prayed with my Saviour, *ut transiret calix iste*, that this cup of red wine might pass from me. But if not, God's will (not mine) be done ; and I shall most willingly drink of this cup as deep as he pleases, and enter into this Sea, yea, and pass through it, in the way that he shall lead me.

But I would have it remembered (good people) that when God's servants were in this boisterous sea, and Aaron among them, the Egyptians which persecuted them (and did, in a manner, drive them into that Sea) were drowned in the same waters, while they were in pursuit of them. I know my God whom I serve is able to deliver me from this sea of blood, as he was to deliver the Three Children from the Furnace ; and (I most humbly thank my Saviour for it) my resolution is now as theirs was then : they would not worship the image the King had set up, nor will I the imaginations which the people are setting up ; nor will I forsake the Temple, and the truth of God, to follow the bleating of Jeroboam's calves in

Dan and Bethel. And as for this people, they are at this day miserably misled (God, of his mercy, open their eyes, that they may see the right way), for at this day the blind lead the blind; and if they go on both will certainly fall into the ditch. For myself, I am (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a most grievous sinner many ways, by thought, word, and deed; and I can't doubt, but that God hath mercy in store for me, a poor penitent, as well as for other sinners. I have now, upon this sad occasion, ransacked every corner of my heart; and yet, I thank God, I have not found (among the many) any one sin which deserves death, by any known law of this kingdom. And yet hereby I charge nothing upon my Judges; for if they proceed upon proof (by valuable witnesses) I, or any other innocent, may be justly condemn'd: and I thank God, though the weight of the sentence lies heavy upon me, I am as quiet within as ever I was in my Life. And though I am not only the first Archbishop, but the first man, that ever died by an ordinance of Parliament, yet some of my predecessors have gone this way, though not by this means: for Elphegus was hurried away and lost his head by the Danes; and Simon Sudbury, in the fury of Wat Tyler and his fellows. Before these, St. John Baptist had his head danc'd off by a lewd woman; and St. Cyprian, archbishop of Carthage, submitted his head to a persecuting sword. Many examples (great and good) and they teach me patience; for I hope my cause in Heaven will look of another dye than the colour that is put upon it here. And some comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of these great men, in their several generations, but also that my charge (as foul as it is made) looks like that of the Jews against St. Paul, (*Acts* xxv, 3), for he was accused for the Law and the Temple, *i.e.*, Religion; and like that of St. Stephen (*Acts* vi, 14) for breaking the ordinances which Moses gave, *i.e.*, Law and Religion, the Holy Place and the Temple, (ver. 13). But you will say, Do I then compare myself with the integrity of St. Paul and St. Stephen? No, far be that from me; I only raise a comfort to myself, that these great saints and servants of God were laid at in their times, as I am now. And 'tis memorable that St. Paul, who helped on this accusation against St. Stephen, did after fall under the very same himself. Yea, but here's a great clamour that I would have brought in

Popery; I shall answer that more fully by and bye; in the mean time, you know what the Pharisees said against Christ himself, "If we let him alone, all men will believe in him, *et venient Romani*, and the Romans will come, and take away both our place and nation." Here was a causeless cry against Christ, that the Romans will come. And see how just the judgment of God was; they crucified Christ, for fear lest the Romans should come: and his death was it which brought in the Romans upon them, God punishing them with that which they had most feared. And I pray God this clamour of *Venient Romani* (of which I have given no cause) don't help to bring them in; for the Pope never had such a harvest in England since the Reformation as he hath now upon the sects and divisions that are amongst us. In the mean time, "by honour and dishonour, by good report and evil report, as a deceiver and yet true," am I passing through this world, 2 *Cor.* vi, 8.

And, first, this I shall be bold to speak of the King our gracious Sovereign: he hath been much traduced also for bringing in Popery; but, on my conscience (of which I shall give God a very present account), I know him to be as free from this charge as any man living; and I hold him to be as sound a Protestant (according to the religion by law established) as any man in this kingdom, and that he will venture his life as far and as freely for it; and I think I do, or should know, both his affection to religion, and his grounds for it, as fully as any man in England.

The second particular is concerning this great and populous city (which God bless). Here hath been of late a fashion taken up, to gather hands, and then go to the great court of this kingdom (the Parliament) and clamour for justice! As if that great and wise court, before whom the causes come, (which are unknown to the many) could not, or would not do justice, but at their appointment. A way which may endanger many an innocent man, and pluck his blood upon their own heads, and perhaps upon their cities also. And this hath been lately practised against myself (the Magistrates standing still and suffering them to openly proceed from parish to parish without check). God forgive the setters of this, (with all my heart I beg it) but many well-meaning people are caught by it. In St. Stephen's case, when nothing else would serve, "they

stirred up the people against him : " and Herod went the same way, when he kill'd St. James ; yet he would not venture upon St. Peter, 'till he found out how the other pleased the people. But take heed of having your hands full of blood, for there is a time (best known to himself) when God (above other sins) " makes inquisition for blood " ; and when that inquisition is on foot, the Psalmist tells us, that God remembers (but that's not all he remembers) " and forgets not the complaint of the poor," that is, whose blood is shed by oppression, (verse 9). Take heed of this. " 'Tis a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God," but then especially when he is making inquisition for blood ; and, with my prayers to avert it, I do heartily desire this City to remember the prophecy that is expressed, *Jer.* xxvi, 15.

The third particular is the poor Church of England. It hath flourished, and been a shelter to other neighbouring Churches, when storms have driven upon them. But, alas ! now 'tis in a storm itself, and God only knows whether, or how, it shall get out ; and, which is worse than a storm from without, it's become like an oak cleft to shivers with wedges made out of its own body, and at every cleft prophaneness and irreligion is entering in, while, as Prosper speaks (in his second book *De Vitæ Comtemptu*, cap. 4), " Men that introduce prophaneness are cloak'd over with the name *Religionis Imaginariae*, of Imaginary Religion " ; for we have lost the substance, and dwell too much in opinion ; and that Church which all the Jesuits' machinations could not ruin, is fallen into danger by her own.

The last particular, for I am not willing to be too long, is myself : I was born and baptized in the bosom of the Church of England established by law ; in that profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come now to die : this is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in matters of religion, and therefore I desire it may be remembered, I have always lived in the Protestant religion, established in England, and in that I come now to die. What clamours and slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an uniformity in the external service of God, according to the doctrine and discipline of this Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt.

Now at last I am accused of high treason in Parliament, a crime which my soul ever abhorred ; this treason was charged

to consist of two parts, "an endeavour to subvert the laws of the land," and a like "endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant religion established by law." Besides my answers to the several charges, I protested my innocence in both Houses. It was said, prisoner's protestations at the bar must not be taken. I can bring no witness of my heart, and the intentions thereof; therefore I must come to my protestation, not at the bar, but my protestation at this hour and instant of my death; in which, I hope all men will be such charitable Christians as not to think I would die and dissemble, being instantly to give God an account for the truth of it. I do therefore, in the presence of God and his holy Angels, take it upon my death, that I never endeavour'd the subversion either of law or religion: and I desire you all to remember this protest of mine for my innocency, in these and from all treasons whatsoever. I have been accused likewise as an enemy to parliaments. No, I understand them, and the benefit that comes by them, too well to be so. But I did mislike the mis-government of some parliaments many, many ways, and I had good reason for it. For *corruptio optimi est pessima*, there is no corruption in the world so bad as that which is of the best thing in itself; for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted. And, that being the highest court, over which no other have jurisdiction, when 'tis misinformed or misgoverned the subject is left without all remedy. But I have done, I forgive all the world, all and every one of those bitter enemies which have persecuted me, and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have. Lord, do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveness of him. And so I heartily desire you to join in prayer with me.

JEREMY TAYLOR (1613-1667)

Bishop Taylor's career corresponds with that half-century of transformation which changed England from a theological to a political nation, from the *naïveté* of the old world to the self-conscious complexity of the new. It was the period of the most melodious purity of the English language, simplified from the stiffly-brocaded and somewhat cumbrous and embarrassed stateliness of Hooker, and not yet declining into the gentlemanly elegance of Tillotson, Burnet and Shaftesbury. Taylor's immortality must be that of a supreme literary artist, a prose-writer whose brilliance is not one of mere sparkling conceits veiling poverty of idea or feebleness of spiritual intensity, but is an imaginative beauty and opulence, combined with naturalness, tenderness and limpid simplicity, gaining for him long ago the title of "the Shakespeare of English prose." All that glistens in him is gold. His sweetness is not sugary, even when most luscious. If he is "flowery," or at least florid, it is only as some happy Sicilian valley is fragrant with spontaneous blooms. "His pre-occupation," says Mr. Gosse, "is with beauty in the most gorgeous scarlet and gold of fancy, and accompanied by flutes and hautboys of calculated cadence."[1] When Hallam complains of Taylor's "Asiatic" but "not altogether unmusical" sentences,[2] the memory turns to the exquisitely gushing music of the "Holy Dying," matching those countless gems of delicately jewelled thought which, as Mr. Gosse remarks, came across our enchanted vision like a perfect marble campanile against the blue southern sky. And it is all much more than verbal artifice. Was it

[1] *Jeremy Taylor*, p. 218.
[2] *Lit. of Europe*, ii, 360.

not a perusal of "Holy Living" which made John Wesley resolve to dedicate every part of his life a sacrifice to God?

Upon Jeremy Taylor's own life the Cross was laid, besides his share in the sorrows of his King, whom he spoke of in after years as "that brave king," "that dear departed saint," and in those of "God's afflicted handmaid, the Church of England." He was twice or thrice imprisoned, and more and more he came to be looked to as the general ghostly father and consoler of distressed royalism. As a fellow of Caius, not yet of age, he had occupied the pulpit of St. Paul's, like "some young angel newly descended from the visions of glory," and crowds had gathered to hear him, till one day the Primate of All England sent for him to preach, afterwards declaring that the sermon was "beyond exception and beyond imitation." With his usual generous alertness in finding out and encouraging youthful genius and piety, Laud made Taylor his chaplain and found him opportunities of study and cultured companionship, without which precocious preaching would be empty wind and the young man's "mighty parts" frittered away. He procured him in 1636 a fellowship at Oxford, and a chaplaincy to the King. In 1638 Bishop Juxon presented him to the parsonage of Uppingham, where, a few years later, his house was plundered, his estate seized, and his family driven out of doors. In 1642, being with Charles at Oxford, his "Episcopacy Asserted" was published there by the King's command. Thenceforward for eighteen years he was an exile, following at first the military fortunes of his royal master and afterwards trying to make a livelihood by keeping school in wild Carmarthenshire, where this shining star of literature was joint-author of *A new and easie institution of Grammar.* But Dr. Taylor found a generous patron in Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery, who made him chaplain of Golden Grove; and here, amid the romantic loveliness of the Towey Vale, he found, as he says, "in the great storm which dashed the vessel of the Church all in pieces," a quiet haven for his little barque.

The suppression of the Church service was not as yet thoroughgoing, Lord Carbery had affinities with the parliamentary side, and Golden Grove afforded Taylor a tranquil retreat and a refined circle of appreciative listeners to a series of matchless discourses, fifty-three of which, delivered in 1651, were afterwards published by him under the title of *Eniautos*, "the Year." Two of these deal with the state of holy wedlock, under the title of "The Marriage Ring," and are given below in a somewhat abbreviated form. It must be confessed that to the modern reader the luxuriance of classical quotation and allusion in the original is almost insupportable, and that the teaching seems to stagger and be crushed under the weight of its golden ornaments. The recondite character of these citations, in Mr. Gosse's opinion, would not appear excessive to auditors accustomed to hear long passages recited from the Greek and Latin Fathers. But after making every allowance for the trained and disciplined capacity of a highly cultured and artistic age, contrasted with the slipshod impatience and ill-educated inattention of a hurried and utilitarian era like our own, the suspicion still obtrudes itself on the mind that the sermons were not delivered quite as they are printed. Mr. Gosse remarks about these sermons :—

"Jeremy Taylor was distinguished from those English preachers who had most prominently preceded him in that he was in no sense an improvisatore. His best sermons are composed with extreme care ; on every page they bear evidence of the long delays of art. It is important to observe that he arrived at the full stature of his genius at a time when the English Church had no need of a Tertullian. In 1651 no obligation lay upon one of the hunted ministers of a fallen Episcopacy to strike at such vices as ambition or gallantry or the greed of gold. What was wanted in that melancholy hour was a physician of souls, one who had the skill to comfort the racked nerves and pour oil into the aching wounds of the Church. This precisely suited the temperament of Jeremy Taylor,

who was nothing of a pontiff and nothing of a satirist, but whose seraphic gentleness exhaled itself in the deep and comfortable balms of consolation.

"Accordingly in the *Sermons* of Taylor we find a studied avoidance of the fury of the preachers of an earlier time. His acquaintance with the human heart inspired homilies which were addressed, not to indifferent or hostile listeners, but to those who were greedy of pious counsel. In these days the sermon was beginning to be a literary instrument, and Taylor bends his genius to use it so as to correct bad taste as well as bad morals. . . . Taylor's appeal to the conscience is always direct, and he throws his art, the unequalled beauty of his style, into the presentment of dogma with a passion of strenuous piety. . .

"The teaching of Taylor is in the main aristocratic. No temptation, no frailty, of the rich is allowed to pass unindicated or unreproved. The preacher is speaking in the chapel of a great house, and mainly to those who are responsible for their wealth, their intellect, or their influence. Outside are the hordes of the wild Welsh, but of them he never speaks and never seems to think. It was Bossuet, and not Taylor, who, ten years later at the court of Louis XIV, was to introduce the definite consideration of the cause of the poor, and to bid the Christian world listen to the 'cri de misère à l'entour de vous, qui devrait nous fondre le cœur.'

"For ten years the current of Jeremy Taylor's life had now been absolutely unbroken, except by the hand of death. He had lived, almost as retired as Moses in his cloud, in a sequestered valley of South Wales, which was full of the sound of waters, and undisturbed by human voices. By a dispensation which might easily have seemed miraculous, through the cruellest time of distraction and peril, this exquisite talent had been preserved intact, hidden as if in the hollow of a mighty hand, granted every favourable opportunity for growing to its full stature. In that beautiful woodland, with a roll of the

winding Towey bent round him like an arm, Jeremy Taylor had grown to be the greatest prose-writer in England."

Taylor's loved wife died in March, 1651—on April 1 he had "lately" buried her—and "The Marriage Ring" was preached some time before Ascensiontide in 1651. The "Winter" series begins with an Advent Sunday sermon, and if the twenty-five are arranged, as seems likely, in the order of preaching, the seventeenth would have been delivered at the end of March. I fancy this point has not been noticed before, but it lends an added significance to the double-sermon. And it was only a few months since Frances Countess of Carbery —Taylor's "dear lady, that rare soul"—had been taken from her lord.

Some very revolutionary theories about the marriage bond were abroad in those days, and there was also a violent aversion among the dominant puritans to the solemnizing of matrimony by a religious service, the marriage ring being regarded as an especial symbol of superstition. In 1654 civil marriage was made compulsory. Milton had the noble regard for the contemporary Taylor which one uplifted spirit has for another. But it is impossible not to contrast the teaching of "The Marriage Ring" with Milton's "Turkish contempt" for womanhood and his tyrannical domestic attitude towards the co-heir with him of the grace of life; though he, too, came to have a "late espoused saint."

The Marriage Ring

This is a great mystery, but I speak concerning Christ and the Church. Nevertheless, let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself, and the wife see that she reverence her husband.—Ephesians v, 32, 33.

The first blessing God gave to man was society: and that society was a marriage, and that marriage was confederate by God himself, and hallowed by a blessing. The next blessing was "the promise of the Messias," and that also increased in men and women a wonderful desire of marriage: to be childless in Israel was a sorrow to the Hebrew women great as the slavery of Egypt, or their dishonours in the land of their captivity.

But when the Messias was come, and the doctrine was published, and his ministers but few, and his disciples were to suffer persecution, and to be of an unsettled dwelling, it pleased God in this new creation to inspire into the hearts of his servants a disposition and strong desires to live a single life, lest the state of marriage should in that conjunction of things become an accidental impediment to the dissemination of the Gospel, which called men from a confinement in their domestic charges to travel and flight and poverty and difficulty and martyrdom : upon this necessity the Apostles and apostolical men published doctrines, declaring the advantages of single life, not by any commandment of the Lord, but by the spirit of prudence.

But although single life hath in it privacy and simplicity of affairs, such solitariness and sorrow, such leisure and inactive circumstances of living, that there are more spaces for religion if men would use them to these purposes ; and because it may have in it much religion and prayers, and must have in it a perfect mortification of our strongest appetites, it is therefore a state of great excellency ; yet concerning the state of marriage, we are taught from Scripture and the sayings of wise men, great things are honourable. Marriage was ordained by God, instituted in Paradise, was the relief of a natural necessity, and the first blessing from the Lord ; he gave to man not a friend, but a wife, that is, a friend and a wife too (for a good woman is in her soul the same that a man is, and she is a woman only in her body ; that she may have the excellency of the one, and the usefulness of the other, and become amiable in both). It is the seminary of the Church and daily brings forth sons and daughters unto God ; it was ministered to by angels, and Raphael waited upon a young man that he might have a blessed marriage, and that that marriage might repair two sad families, and bless all their relatives. Our blessed Lord, though he was born of a maiden, yet she was veiled under the cover of marriage, and she was married to a widower ; for Joseph the supposed father of our Lord had children by a former wife. The first miracle that ever Jesus did was to do honour to a wedding. Marriage was in the world before sin, and is in all ages of the world the greatest and most effective antidote against sin, in which all the world had perished, if God had not made a remedy. And

although sin hath soured marriage, and stuck the man's head with cares, and the woman's bed with sorrows in the production of children, yet these are but throes of life and glory, and "she shall be saved in child-bearing, if she be found in faith and righteousness." Marriage is a school and exercise of virtue; and though marriage hath cares, yet the single life hath desires, which are more troublesome and more dangerous, and often ends in sin, while the cares are but instances of duty and exercises of piety. Here is the proper scene of piety and patience, of the duty of parents and the charity of relatives; here kindness is spread abroad, and love is united and made firm as a centre. Marriage is the nursery of heaven; the virgin sends prayers to God, but she carries but one soul to him; but the state of marriage fills up the numbers of the elect, and hath in it the labour of love, and the delicacies of friendship, the blessing of society, and the union of hands and hearts; it hath in it less of beauty, but more of safety, than the single life; it hath more care, but less danger; it is more merry, and more sad; is fuller of sorrows, and fuller of joys; it lies under more burdens, but is supported by all the strengths of love and charity, and those burdens are delightful. Marriage is the mother of the world, and preserves kingdoms, and fills cities and churches and heaven itself. Celibacy, like the fly in the heart of an apple, dwells in a perpetual sweetness, but sits alone, and is confined and dies in singularity; but marriage, like the useful bee, builds a house and gathers sweetness from every flower, and labours and unites into societies and republics, and sends out colonies, and feeds the world with delicacies, and obeys their king, and keeps order, and exercises many virtues, and promotes the interest of mankind, and is that state of good things to which God hath designed the present constitution of the world.

Single life makes men in one instance to be like angels, but marriage in very many things makes the chaste pair to be like to Christ. "This is a great mystery," but it is the symbolical and sacramental representation of the greatest mysteries of our religion. Christ descended from his Father's bosom, and contracted his divinity with flesh and blood, and married our nature, and we became a Church, the spouse of the Bridegroom, which he cleansed with his blood, and gave her his Holy Spirit for a dowry, and heaven for a jointure;

begetting children unto God by the Gospel. This spouse he hath joined to himself by an excellent charity, he feeds her at his own table, and lodges her nigh his own heart, provides for all her necessities, relieves her sorrows, determines her doubts, guides her wanderings, he is become her head, and she as a signet upon his right hand. He first indeed was betrothed to the synagogue and had many children by her, but she forsook her love, and then he married the church of the Gentiles, and by her as by a second venter had a more numerous issue, " atque una domus est omnium filiorum ejus," " all the children dwell in the same house," and are heirs of the same promises, entitled to the same inheritance. Here is the eternal conjunction, the indissoluble knot, the exceeding love of Christ, the obedience of the Spouse, the communicating of goods, the uniting of interests, the fruit of marriage, a celestial generation, a new creature. " Sacramentum hoc magnum est," " this is the sacramental mystery," represented by the holy rite of marriage ; so that marriage is divine in its institution, sacred in its union, holy in the mystery, sacramental in its signification, honourable in its appellative, religious in its employments : it is advantage to the societies of men, and it is " holiness to the Lord." " Dico autem in Christo et Ecclesia," " it must be in Christ and the church."

If this be not observed, marriage loses its mysteriousness : but because it is to effect much of that which it signifies, it concerns all that enter into those golden fetters to see that Christ and his Church be in at every of its periods, and that it be entirely conducted and overruled by religion ; for so the Apostle passes from the sacramental rite to the real duty. " Nevertheless," that is, although the former discourse were wholly to explicate the conjunction of Christ and his Church by this similitude, yet it hath in it this real duty, " that the man love his wife, and the wife reverence her husband : "

" In Christo et Ecclesia " ; that begins all, and there is great need it should be so ; for they that enter into a state of marriage cast a die of the greatest contingency, and yet of the greatest interest in the world, next to the last throw for eternity. Life or death, felicity or a lasting sorrow, are in the power of marriage. A woman indeed ventures most, for she hath no sanctuary to retire to from an evil husband ; she must dwell upon her sorrow, and hatch the eggs which her own

folly or infelicity hath produced; and she is more under it, because her tormentor hath a warrant of prerogative, and the woman may complain to God as subjects do of tyrant princes, but otherwise she hath no appeal in the causes of unkindness. And though the man can run from many hours of his sadness, yet he must return to it again, and when he sits among his neighbours he remembers the objection that lies in his bosom, and he sighs deeply.

"Ah tum te miserum, malique fati,
Quem, attractis pedibus, patente porta,
Percurrent mugilesque raphanique."

The boys and the pedlars and the fruiterers shall tell of this man, when he is carried to his grave, that he lived and died a poor wretched person. The stags in the Greek epigram, whose knees were clogged with frozen snow upon the mountains, came down to the brooks of the valleys, χλιῆναι νοτεροῖς νάμασιν ὠκὺ γόνυ, "hoping to thaw their joints with the waters of the stream"; but there the frost overtook them, and bound them fast in ice, till the young herdsmen took them in their stranger snare. It is the unhappy chance of many men, finding many inconveniences upon the mountains of single life, they descend into the valleys of marriage to refresh their troubles, and there they enter into fetters, and are bound to sorrow by the cords of a man's or a woman's peevishness. And the worst of the evil is, they are to thank their own follies; for they fell into the snare by entering an improper way: Christ and the Church were no ingredients in their choice.

It is an ill band of affections to tie two hearts together by a little thread of red and white. And they can love no longer but until the next ague comes; and they are fond of each other but at the chance of fancy, or the smallpox, or childbearing, or care, or time, or any thing that can destroy a pretty flower. But it is the basest of all when lust is the paranymph, and solicits the suit, and makes the contract, and joins the hands. Begin therefore with God. Christ is the president of marriage, and the Holy Ghost is the fountain of purities and chaste loves, and he joins the hearts; and therefore, let our first suit be in the court of heaven, and with designs of piety or safety or charity; let no impure spirit defile the virgin purities and "castifications of the soul" (as St. Peter's phrase is); let all such contracts begin with religious affections.

Man and wife are equally concerned to avoid all offences of each other in the beginning of their conversation. Every little thing can blast an infant blossom, and the breath of the south can shake the little rings of the vine, when first they begin to curl like the locks of a new-weaned boy; but when by age and consolation they stiffen into the hardness of a stem, and have, by the warm embraces of the sun and the kisses of heaven, brought forth their clusters, they can endure the storms of the north, and the loud noises of a tempest, and yet never be broken: so are the early unions of an unfixed marriage; watchful and observant, jealous and busy, inquisitive and careful, and apt to take alarm at every unkind word. For infirmities do not manifest themselves in the first scenes, but in the succession of a long society; and it is not chance or weakness when it appears at first, but it is want of love or prudence, or it will be so expounded; and that which appears ill at first usually affrights the inexperienced man or woman, who makes unequal conjectures, and fancies mighty sorrow by the proportions of the new and early unkindness. It is a very great passion, or a huge folly, or a certain want of love, that cannot preserve the colours and beauties of kindness so long as public honesty requires a man to wear their sorrows for the death of a friend. Plutarch compares a new marriage to a vessel before the hoops are on; "everything dissolves their tender compaginations"; "but when the joints are stiffened and are tied by a firm compliance and proportioned bending, scarcely can it be dissolved without fire or the violence of iron." After the hearts of the man and the wife are endeared and hardened by a mutual confidence, and experience longer than artifice and pretence can last, there are a great many resemblances, and some things present, that dash all little unkindnesses in pieces. The little boy in the Greek epigram that was creeping down a precipice was invited to his safety by the sight of his mother's pap, when nothing else could entice him to return: and the bond of common children, and the sight of her that nurses what is most dear to him, and the endearments of each other in the course of a long society and the same relation, is an excellent security to redintegrate and to call that love back, which folly and trifling accidents would disturb.

Let man and wife be careful to stifle little things, that,

as fast as they spring, they be cut down and trod upon ; for if they be suffered to grow by numbers, they make the spirit peevish, and the society troublesome, and the affections loose and easy by an habitual aversation. Some men are more vexed with a fly than with a wound.

Let the husband and wife infinitely avoid a curious distinction of mine and thine ; for this hath caused all the laws and all the suits and all the wars in the world ; let them, who have but one person, have also but one interest. " All that a woman hath, is reckoned to the right of her husband ; not her wealth and her person only, but her reputation and her praise " ; so Lucian. But as the earth, the mother of all creatures here below, sends up all its vapours and proper emissions at the command of the sun, and yet requires them again to refresh her own needs, and they are deposited between them both in the bosom of a cloud, as a common receptacle, that they may cool his flames, and yet descend to make her fruitful : so are the proprieties of a wife to be disposed of by her lord ; and yet all are for her provisions, it being a part of his need to refresh and supply hers, and it serves the interest of both while it serves the necessities of either.

These are the duties of them both, which have common regards and equal necessities and obligations ; and, indeed, there is scarce any matter of duty but it concerns them both alike, and is only distinguished by names, and hath its variety by circumstances and little accidents. And what in one is called " love " in the other is called " reverence " ; and what in the wife is " obedience " the same in the man is " duty." He provides, and she dispenses, he gives commandments, and she rules by them ; he rules her by authority, and she rules him by love.

Part II

The next inquiry is more particular, and considers the power and duty of man. A husband's power over his wife is paternal and friendly, not magisterial and despotic. The wife is in " perpetua tutela," under conduct and counsel. Homer adds more soft appellatives to the character of a husband's duty; *πατὴρ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῇ καὶ πότνια μητὴρ, ἠδὲ κασίγνητος*, " Thou art to be a father and a mother to her, and a brother " : and great reason, unless the state of

marriage should be no better than the condition of an orphan. For she that is bound to leave father and mother and brother for thee either is miserable like a poor fatherless child, or else ought to find all these, and more, in thee. It was rarely observed of Philo, "When Adam made that fond excuse for his folly in eating the forbidden fruit, he said 'The woman thou gavest to be *with* me, she gave me.' He says not 'The woman which thou gavest *to* me,' no such thing; she is none of his goods, none of his possessions, not to be reckoned amongst his servants; God did not give her to him so; but 'the woman thou gavest to be with me,' that is, to be my partner, the companion of my joys and sorrows, thou gavest her for use, not for dominion." The dominion of a man over his wife is no other than as the soul rules the body; for which it takes a mighty care, and uses it with a delicate tenderness, and cares for it in all contingencies, and watches to keep it from all evils, and studies to make for it fair provisions, and very often is led by its inclinations and desires, and does never contradict its appetites but when they are evil, and then also not without some trouble and sorrow. And its government comes only to this, it furnishes the body with light and understanding, and the body furnishes the soul with hands and feet; and yet even the very government itself is divided; for man and wife in the family are as the sun and moon in the firmament of heaven; he rules by day, and she by night, that is, in the lesser and more proper circles of her affairs, in the conduct of domestic provisions and necessary offices, and shines only by his light, and rules by his authority.

And, therefore, although there is just measure of subjection and obedience due from the wife to the husband (as I shall after explain), yet nothing of this expressed is in the man's character, or in his duty; he is not commanded to rule, nor instructed how, nor bidden to exact obedience, nor to defend his privilege; all his duty is signified by love, "by nourishing and cherishing," by being joined with her in all the unions of charity, by "not being bitter to her," by "dwelling with her according to knowledge, giving honour to her." So that it seems to be with husbands as it is with bishops and priests, to whom much honour is due, but yet so that if they stand upon it, and challenge it, they become less honourable. And as amongst men and women humility is the way to be

preferred ; so it is in husbands, they shall prevail by cession, by sweetness and counsel and charity and compliance.

" Be not bitter against her " ; and this is the least index and signification of love ; a civil man is never bitter against a friend or a stranger, much less to him that enters under his roof, and is secured by the laws of hospitality. But a wife does all that and more ; she quits all her interest for his love, she gives him all that she can give, she is as much the same person as another 'can be the same who is conjoined by love and mystery and religion, and all that is sacred and profane.

> " Non equidem hoc dubites, amborum fœdere certo
> Consentire dies, et ab uno sidere duci."

They have the same fortune, the same family, the same children, the same religion, the same interest, " the same flesh "—" erunt duo in carnem unam." And therefore this the Apostle urges for his *μὴ πικραίνετε*, " no man hateth his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it." And he certainly is strangely sacrilegious and a violater of the rights of hospitality and sanctuary who uses her rudely who is fled for protection, not only to his house, but also to his heart and bosom.

The marital love is infinitely removed from all possibility of rudenesses : it is a thing pure as light, sacred as a temple, lasting as the world. " Amicitia, quæ desinere potuit, nunquam vera fuit " : said one ; " That love that can cease was never true." It is *ὁμιλία*, so Moses called it ; it is *εὐνοία*, so St. Paul ; it is *φιλότης*, so Homer ; it is *φιλοφροσύνη*, so Plutarch ; that is, it contains in it all " sweetness " and all " society " and " felicity," and all " prudence " and all " wisdom." For there is nothing can please a man without love. And if a man be weary of the wise discourses of the Apostles, and of the innocency of an even and a private fortune, or hates peace or a fruitful year, he hath reaped thorns and thistles from the choicest flowers of paradise ; " for nothing can sweeten felicity itself, but love." But when a man dwells in love, then the breasts of his wife are pleasant as the droppings upon the hill of Hermon, her eyes are fair as the light of heaven, she is a fountain sealed, and he can quench his thirst, and ease his cares, and lay his sorrow down upon her lap, and can retire home to his sanctuary and refectory, and his gardens of sweetness and chaste refreshments. No man can tell but he that loves his children, how many delicious accents make a man's

heart dance in the pretty conversation of those dear pledges; their childishness, their stammering, their little angers, their innocence, their imperfections, their necessities, are so many little emanations of joy and comfort to him that delights in their persons and society. But he that loves not his wife and children feeds a lioness at home, and broods a nest of sorrows; and blessing itself cannot make him happy; so that all the commandments of God enjoining a man to "love his wife," are nothing but so many necessities and capacities of joy. "She that is loved, is safe; and he that loves is joyful." Love is a union of all things excellent; it contains in it proportion and satisfaction and rest and confidence; and I wish that this were so much proceeded in that the heathens themselves could not go beyond us in this virtue, and its proper and its appendant happiness. Tiberius Gracchus chose to die for the safety of his wife; and yet methinks to a Christian to do so should be no hard thing. For many servants will die for their masters, and many gentlemen will die for their friend; but the examples are not so many of those that are ready to do it for their dearest relatives, and yet some there have been. Baptista Fregosa tells of a Neapolitan, that gave himself a slave to the Moors, that he might follow his wife; and Dominicus Catalusius, the prince of Lesbos, kept company with his lady when she was a leper; and these are greater things than to die.

But the cases in which this can be required are so rare and contingent that Holy Scripture instances not the duty in this particular; but it contains in it that the husband should nourish and cherish her, that he should refresh her sorrows and entice her fears into confidence and pretty arts of rest; for even the fig-trees that grew in paradise had sharp-pointed leaves and harshnesses fit to mortify the too-forward lusting after the sweetness of the fruit. But it will concern the prudence of the husband's love to make the cares and evils as simple and easy as he can, by doubling the joys and acts of a careful friendship, by tolerating her infirmities (because by so doing he either cures her, or makes himself better), by fairly expounding all the little traverses of society and communication, "by taking every thing by the right handle," as Plutarch's expression is; for there is nothing but may be misinterpreted, and yet, if it be capable of a fair construction, it is the office of

love to make it. Love will account that to be well said which, it may be, was not so intended; and then it may cause it to be so, another time.

Hither also is to be referred that he secure the interest of her virtue and felicity by a fair example; for a wife to a husband is a line or superficies, it hath dimensions of its own, but no motion or proper affections; but commonly puts on such images of virtues or vices as are presented to her by her husband's idea: and if thou beest vicious, complain not that she is infected that lies in thy bosom; the interest of whose loves ties her to transcribe thy copy, and write after the characters of thy manners.

Above all the instances of love let him preserve towards her an inviolable faith and an unspotted chastity; for this is the marriage ring, it ties two hearts by an eternal band; it is like the cherubim's flaming sword, set for the guard of paradise; he that passes into that garden, now that it is immured by Christ and the Church, enters into the shades of death. No man must touch the forbidden tree, that in the midst of the garden, which is the tree of knowledge and life. Chastity is the security of love, and preserves all the mysteriousness like the secrets of a temple. Under this lock is deposited security of families, the union of affections, the repairer of accidental breaches.

This is a grace that is shut up and secured by all arts of heaven, and the defence of laws, the locks and bars of modesty, by honour and reputation, by fear and shame, by interest and high regards; and that contract that is intended to be for ever is yet dissolved and broken by the violation of this. Nothing but death can do so much evil to the holy rites of marriage as unchastity and breach of faith can. The shepherd Cratis, falling in love with a she-goat, had his brains beaten out with a buck as he lay asleep; and by the laws of the Romans a man might kill his daughter or his wife if he surprised her in the breach of her holy vows, which are as sacred as the threads of life, secret as the privacies of the sanctuary, and holy as the society of angels. "Nullæ sunt inimicitiæ nisi amoris acerbæ"; and God, that commanded us to forgive our enemies, left it in our choice, and hath not commanded us, to forgive an adulterous husband or a wife; but the offended party's displeasure may pass into an eternal separation of

society and friendship. Now in this grace it is fit that the wisdom and severity of the man should hold forth a pure taper, that his wife may, by seeing the beauties and transparencies of that crystal, dress her mind and her body by the light of so pure reflexions. It is certain he will expect it from the modesty and retirement, from the passive nature and colder temper, from the humility and fear, from the honour and love, of his wife, that she be pure as the eye of heaven ; and therefore it is but reason that the wisdom and nobleness, the love and confidence, the strength and severity, of the man should be as holy and certain in this grace as he is a severe exactor of it at her hands, who can more easily be tempted by another, and less by herself.

These are the little lines of a man's duty, which, like threads of light from the body of the sun, do clearly describe all the regions of his proper obligations. Now concerning the woman's duty. A wife never can become equal but by obeying ; but so her power, while it is in minority, makes up the authority of the man integral, and becomes one government, as themselves are one man. " Male and female created he them, and called their name Adam," saith the Holy Scripture. They are but one : and therefore the several parts of this one man must stand in the place where God appointed, that the lower parts may do their offices in their own station, and promote the common interests of the whole. A ruling woman is intolerable. But that is not all ; for she is miserable too. It is a sad calamity for a woman to be joined to a fool or a weak person ; it is like a guard of geese to keep the Capitol ; or as if a flock of sheep should read grave lectures to their shepherd, and give him orders where he shall conduct them to pasture. " O vere Phrygiæ, neque enim Phryges."

But now concerning the measures and limits of this obedience, we can best take accounts from Scripture : ἐν παντὶ, saith the Apostle, " in all things " ; " ut Domino," " as to the Lord."

But in this also there is some peculiar caution. For although in those things which are of the necessary parts of faith and holy life the woman is only subject to Christ, who only is and can be Lord of consciences, and commands alone where the conscience is instructed and convinced : yet, as it is part of the man's office to be a teacher and a prophet and a guide and a

master, so also it will relate very much to the demonstration of their affections to obey his counsels, to imitate his virtues, to be directed by his wisdom, to have her persuasion measured by the lines of his excellent religion, "to partake secretly and in her heart, of all his joys and sorrows," to believe him comely and fair, though the sun hath drawn a cyprus over him. For as marriages are not to be contracted by the hands and eye, but with reason and the hearts, so are these judgments to be made by the mind, not by the sight: and diamonds cannot make the woman virtuous, nor him to value her who sees her put them off then when charity and modesty are her brightest ornaments.

Indeed, the outward ornament is fit to take fools, but they are not worth the taking; but she that hath a wise husband must entice him to an eternal dearness by the veil of modesty and the grave robes of chastity, the ornament of meekness and the jewels of faith and charity; she must have no fucus but blushings, her brightness must be purity, and she must shine round about with sweetness and friendship, and she shall be pleasant while she lives, and desired when she dies.

"Remember the days of darkness, for they are many." The joys of the bridal-chambers are quickly past, and the remaining portion of the state is a dull progress, without variety of joys, but not without the change of sorrows; but that portion that shall enter into the grave must be eternal. It is fit that I should infuse a bunch of myrrh into the festival goblet, and, after the Egyptian manner, serve up a dead man's bones at a feast: I will only shew it, and take it away again; it will make the wine bitter, but wholesome. But those married pairs that live as remembering that they must part again, and give an account how they treat themselves and each other, shall, at that day of their death, be admitted to glorious espousals; and when they shall live again, be married to their Lord, and partake of his glories.

"All those things that now please us shall pass from us, or we from them"; but those things that concern the other life are permanent as the numbers of eternity. And although at the resurrection there shall be no relation of husband and wife, and no marriage shall be celebrated but the marriage of the Lamb, yet then shall be remembered how men and women

passed through this state which is a type of that, and from this sacramental union all holy pairs shall pass to the spiritual and eternal, where love shall be their portion, and joys shall crown their heads, and they shall lie in the bosom of Jesus, and in the heart of God to eternal ages. Amen.

ISAAC BARROW (1630-1677)

Isaac Barrow, the eminent mathematician and divine, may be taken as representing the mid-Stuart period, at the time of England's transition from the old theological world to the era of experimental philosophy and physical and mathematical science as well as of continental "politeness." He was a royalist from boyhood, his uncle, Bishop Isaac Barrow, having been ousted from his fellowship at Peterhouse in 1643, just as the younger Isaac had been entered at that College from Charterhouse, as a pensioner, at the age of thirteen. His father, an opulent London citizen and mercer, had also suffered greatly in his estate for the royal cause. The child himself had always been a pickle and at fisticuffs, so that his father declared that, should Providence be pleased to remove any of his children, Isaac could be best spared. But he was brave and honest. He grew up to be, in Tillotson's eyes, "as near St. James's 'perfect man' as was possible to be."

Barrow was chosen to a Trinity scholarship in 1647, then aged seventeen, and though he would not take the Covenant his innocent and pious conduct gained him the esteem of the College authorities. Nevertheless he would fight the butchers' boys in St. Nicholas Shambles. "Thou art a good lad," said Dr. Hill, the intruded Master, laying his hands on the youth's head; "'tis pity thou'rt a cavalier," and he took his part when in danger of expulsion for an insufficiently Protestant November 5th exercise. Soon after the exchange of his Sovereign's crown of sorrows for a better crown in front of Whitehall palace, Barrow was elected fellow of his College, "merely out of regard to his merits, for he had no friend to recommend him, being of the opposite party," but a few years later his churchmanship prevented his being chosen to the Greek Professorship. This disappointment led to his leaving

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England for a time, and after a visit to Paris to Charles II's half-starved Court, in which his father (whose indigence he assisted out of his own lean purse) held some post, Barrow went on to Florence, to Smyrna—on the voyage serving a cannon against an Algerine corsair—and to Constantinople, where he fell in love with the writings of St. Chrysostom. He stayed in Turkey above a year, and returned thence by way of Venice, Germany and the Low Countries, reaching England shortly before the break-up of the Protectorate. While the Church was still under a ban, however, Barrow desired Bishop Browning to ordain him deacon and priest. "A straight line," he said once, "is the shortest in morals as well as in geometry."

Upon the King's restoration Barrow's friends expected immediate preferment for him, and his own epigram—

"Te magis optavit rediturum, Carole, nemo;
Et nemo sensit te rediisse minus"—

shows that he felt disappointed. However, in that year, 1660, he was chosen Professor of Greek at Cambridge, and in 1662 Professor of Geometry in Gresham College, filling also the chair of the absent Astronomy Professor. The next year he was appointed the first Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, resigning the chair six years later to another Isaac, his pupil Newton. He was for a short time Cottonian Librarian. We are almost surprised that a Chair of Poetry was not also created for this universal genius, who wrote passable poems in English and Latin, and sometimes—as on the occasion of the King's marriage—in Greek. In 1672, however, Charles II made him Master of Trinity College, observing that he had appointed the best scholar in England. In 1675 he became Vice-chancellor of the University, and in that capacity preached on May 29th, 1674, the sermon which is printed below, the occasion being the sixteenth anniversary of the King's birthday and return. Eleven months later he died of a fever, in his forty-sixth year, and was buried in Westminster

Abbey-church. " He closes," says Coleridge, " the first great period of the English language." To qualify himself for public speaking, the great Chatham was accustomed to get Barrow's sermons by heart, and the same is recorded of Daniel Webster.

Barrow was a lifelong loyalist, but no great courtier. He could hold his own, however, with courtiers, and when Rochester, who considered him " a musty piece of divinity," ended some flippant banter with a low bow and " Doctor, I am your's to the lowest pit of hell," the divine laughed and replied, " There, my lord, I leave you," and turned on his heel. We have seen him fighting pirates ; he thrashed " a rhadamontade " at Constantinople ; and there is a tale of his grappling with a fierce mastiff which attacked him before daylight in the garden of a house where he was staying—for Barrow was another of the dilucular students. He downed the animal and had a mind to kill him, but reflected that a watch-dog was only doing his duty at that hour. As a preacher he was strong, forcible and prodigious, both as to quantity and quality. One of his sermons on " Bountifulness to the Poor," preached at the Spital, is said to have occupied three hours and a half—if it was really all delivered. The one here given has been somewhat abridged. Charles II remarked that he was a very unfair preacher, for he left no one else anything to say. On one occasion the greedy Abbey vergers, who could not show visitors round during sermon-time, persuaded the organist to strike up in the middle of a treatise-discourse of Barrow's.

Barrow's style of enunciation has none of the rich embroidery, the perfumed stateliness, of Taylor. But it is thus well described by the late Prebendary J. E. Kempe :—

" Whatever he touches becomes as clear and definite to him as the mathematical problems he had worked out with Isaac Newton. Every sermon is to be the demonstration of a theorem. It seems to conclude with a *quod erat probandum*

and to develop into a problem, *quod est faciendum.* There is no escaping from this vigorous athlete, this master of the whole science of logical and rhetorical attack and defence. He pursues his antagonist into every corner of the ground, allows him with the utmost fairness to avail himself of all conceivable defences, and breaks them all down, one after the other, with irresistible and sometimes, it may be, only too numerous blows. He has no idea of giving quarter in intellectual warfare. . . The result in the hands of a strong and laborious workman like Barrow is vastly impressive. When the quarry is exhausted, and all the stones are in their appointed places, we have a massive and solid edifice before us, complete from its foundations to its roof, and strongly compacted in every part."

The sermon on the " King's Happy Return," however, is not a controversial one. It may possibly incline us to wonder whether the usual estimate of the Restoration monarchy is rightly focussed, when a mind so intellectual, so pious, and so honestly practical as Barrow's could conceive of it so favourably, not in the first idealistic flush of the Restoration days, but sixteen years after. That Barrow was not blind to the evils of his age is shown by the closing passages of his sermon.

Aubrey records in his *Brief Lives* :—" He was a strong man, but pale as the candle he studyed by ; a good poet, of great modestie and humanity, careles of his dresse. As he lay expiring in the agonie of death, the standers-by could heare him say softly, ' I have seen the glories of the world.' "

The King's Happy Return

I exhort therefore, that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men : for kings, and for all that are in authority.—1 Timothy ii, 1, 2.

St. *Paul* in his preceding discourse having insinuated directions to his scholar and spiritual son, *Timothy*, concerning the discharge of his office, of instructing men in their duty, according to the evangelical doctrine ; he doth here *first of all exhort*, or, doth *exhort that first of all*, all kinds of devotion

should be offered to God, as for *all men* generally, so particularly for *kings* and *magistrates*. From whence we may collect two particulars. 1. That the making of *prayers for kings* is a Christian duty of great importance (St. *Paul* judging fit to exhort thereto, *πρῶτον πάντων, before all other things;* or, to *exhort that before all things* it should be performed). 2. That it is incumbent on the pastors of the church (such as St. *Timothy* was) to take special care that this duty should be performed in the church; both publickly in the congregations, and privately in the retirements of each Christian: according to what the Apostle, after the proposing divers enforcements of this duty, subsumeth in the 8th verse, *I will therefore that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands, without wrath or doubting.*

The first of these particulars, that it is a duty of great importance *to pray for kings*, I shall insist upon: it being indeed now very fit and seasonable to urge the practice of it, when it is perhaps commonly not much considered, or not well observed; and when there is most need of it, in regard to the effects and consequences which may proceed from the conscionable discharge of it.

I. The Apostle exhorteth Christians to *pray for kings* with all sorts of prayer; with *δεήσεις*, or *deprecations*, for averting evils from them; with *προσευχαὶ*, or *petitions*, for obtaining good things to them; with *ἐντεύξεις*, or *occasional intercessions*, for needful gifts and graces to be collated on them: as, after St. *Austin*, interpreters, in expounding St. *Paul's* words, commonly distinguish; how accurately, I shall not discuss; it sufficing that assuredly the Apostle meaneth, under this variety of expression, to comprehend all kinds of prayer. And to this I say we are obliged upon divers accounts.

1. Common charity should dispose us to pray for kings. For if, because all men are our fellow-creatures and brethren by the same heavenly Father, because all men are allied to us by cognation and similitude of nature, because all men are the objects of God's particular favour and care; if, because all men are partakers of the common redemption, by the undertakings of him who is the common Mediator and Saviour of all men, and because all men, according to the gracious intent and desire of God, are designed for a consortship in the same blessed inheritance (which enforcements St.

Paul in the context doth intimate); if, in fine, because all men do need prayers, and are capable of benefit from them, we should be charitably disposed to pray for them: then must we also pray for *kings*, who, even in their personal capacity, as men, do share in all those conditions.

Indeed, even on this account we may say, especially *for kings*; the law of general charity with peculiar advantage being applicable to them: for that law commonly is expressed with reference to our neighbour, that is, to persons with whom we have to do, who come under our particular notice, who by any intercourse are approximated to us; and such are *kings* especially. For whereas the greatest part of men (by reason of their distance from us, from the obscurity of their condition, or for want of opportunity to converse with them) must needs slip beside us, so that we cannot employ any distinct thought or affection towards them: it is not so with kings, who by their eminent and illustrious station become very observable by us; with whom we have frequent transactions, and mutual concerns; who therefore in the strictest acceptation are our neighbours; whom we are charged to love as ourselves; to whom consequently we must perform this most charitable office of praying for them.

2. To impress which consideration, we may reflect, that commonly we have only this way granted us of exercising our charity toward princes; they being situated aloft above the reach of private beneficence: so that we cannot enrich them, or relieve them by our alms; we cannot help to exalt or prefer them to a better state; we can hardly come to impart good advice, seasonable consolation, or wholesome reproof to them; we cannot profit or please them by familiar conversation. For, as in divers other respects they resemble the Divinity, so in this they are like it, that we may say to them, as the Psalmist to God, *Thou art my Lord, my goodness extendeth* [*not*] *to thee.* Yet this case may be reserved, wherein the poorest soul may benefit the greatest prince, imparting the richest and choicest goods to him: He may be indebted for his safety, for the prosperity of his affairs, for God's mercy and favour toward him, to the prayers of his meanest vassal. And thus to oblige princes, methinks, we should be very desirous; we should be glad to use such an advantage, we should be ambitious of such an honour.

3. We are bound to pray for kings out of charity to the publick; because their good is a general good, and the communities of men (both Church and State) are greatly concerned in the blessings by prayer derived on them.

The safety of a prince is a great part of the common welfare; the commonwealth, as it were, living and breathing in him: his fall, like that of a tall cedar (to which he is compared), shaking the earth, and discomposing the state, putting things out of course, and drawing them into new channels, translating the administration of affairs into untried hands and an uncertain condition. Hence, *Let the king live* (which our translators render, *God save the king*) was an usual form of salutation or prayer: and *O king, live for ever* was a customary address to princes, whereto the best men did conform, even in application to none of the best princes; as *Nehemiah* to King *Artazerxes*, and *Daniel* to King *Darius*. Hence not only good King *David* is called *the light of Israel;* (*Thou shalt not*, said *Abishai, any more go out with us to battle, that thou quench not the light of Israel*); but even the wicked and perverse King *Zedekiah* is by the Prophet *Jeremiah* himself (who had been so misused by him) styled *the breath of our nostrils*. (*The breath*, saith he, *of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits*.) Hence not only the fall of good King *Josiah* was so grievously lamented, but a solemn mourning was due to that of *Saul;* and *Ye daughters of Jerusalem, weep for Saul* was a strain becoming the mouth of his great successor King *David*. Hence the primitive Christians, who could not be constrained to swear by the *genius* of *Cæsar*, did not yet, in compliance with the usual practice, scruple to swear by their *health* or *safety;* that is, to express their wishing it, with appeal to God's testimony of their sincerity therein; as *Joseph* may be conceived to have sworn *by the life of Pharaoh*. Hence well might the people tell King *David, Thou art worth ten thousand of us:* seeing the publick was so much interested in his safety, and had suffered more in the loss of him than if a myriad of others had miscarried.

The honour likewise of a prince is the glory of his people, seeing it is founded on qualities or deeds tending to their advantage; seeing it can hardly be supposed that he should acquire honour without their aid and concurrence, or that he should retain it without their support and their satisfaction.

And as the chief grace and beauty of a body is in the head, and the fairest ornaments of the whole are placed there, so is any commonwealth most dignified and beautified by the reputation of its prince.

The prosperity of a prince is inseparable from the prosperity of his people ; they ever partaking of his fortunes and thriving or suffering with him. For as, when the sun shineth brightly, there is a clear day and fair weather over the world, so when a prince is not overclouded with adversity, or disastrous occurrences, the publick state must be serene, and a pleasant state of things will appear. Then is the ship in a good condition when the pilot in open sea, with full sails and a brisk gale, cheerfully steereth on toward his designed port.

Especially the piety and goodness of a prince is of vast consequence, and yieldeth infinite benefit to his country : for *vita principis censura est,* the life of a prince is a calling of other men's lives to an account. His example hath an unspeakable influence on the manners of his people, who are apt in all his garb, and every fashion, to imitate him. His practice is more powerful than his commands, and often doth control them. His authority hath the great stroke in encouraging virtue and checking vice, if it bendeth that way : the dispensation of honours and rewards, the infliction of ignominies and corrections, being in his hand, and passing from it according to his inclinations. His power is the shield of innocence, the fence of right, the shelter of weakness and simplicity against violences and frauds. His very look (a smile or a frown of his countenance) is sufficient to advance goodness and suppress wickedness : according to that of *Solomon, A king sitting in the throne of judgment scattereth away all evil with his eyes.* His goodness, pleasing God, procureth his favour, and therewith deduceth from heaven all kinds of blessings on his people. And if those politick aphorisms of the *Wise man* be true, that *righteousness exalteth a nation, and establisheth a throne ;* that *when it goeth well with the righteous, the city rejoiceth,* and *the same by the blessing of the upright is exalted ;* then upon his inclinations to virtue the advancement and stability of publick welfare do mainly depend. So, for instance, how did piety flourish in the times of *David,* who loved, favoured and practised it, and what abundance of prosperity did attend it !

We may indeed observe, that, according to the representation of things in holy scripture, there is a kind of moral connexion, or a communication of merit and guilt, between prince and people; so that mutually each of them is rewarded for the virtues, each is punished for the vices, of the other. As for the iniquities of a people God withdraweth from their prince the free communications of his grace and of his favour (suffering him to incur sin, or to fall into misfortune): which was the case of that incomparably good King *Josiah*, and hath been the fate of divers excellent princes, whom God hath snatched away from people unworthy of them, or involved with such a people in common calamities; according to the rule propounded in the law of God's dealing with the *Israelites* in the case of their disobedience, and according to that of *Samuel, If ye shall do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both ye and your king*): so reciprocally, for the misdemeanours of princes (or in them, and by them) God doth chastise their people. That princes are bad, that they incur great errors, or commit notable trespasses, is commonly imputable to the fault of subjects; and is a just judgment by divine Providence laid on them, as for other provocations, so especially for their want of devotion, and neglecting duly to pray for them. For if they constantly with hearty sincerity and earnest fervency would in their behalf sue to God, *who fashioneth all the hearts of men*, who especially holdeth *the hearts of kings in his hand, and turneth them whithersoever he will*, we reasonably might presume that God by his grace would direct them into the right way, and incline their hearts to goodness; that he would accomplish his own word in the Prophet, *I will make thy officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness;* that we might have occasion to pay thanksgivings like that of *Ezra, Blessed be the Lord God of our fathers, who hath put such things as this in the king's heart, to beautify the house of the Lord, which is in Jerusalem.*

We are apt to impute the ill management of things, and the bad success waiting on it, unto princes, being in appearance the immediate agents and instruments of it. But we commonly do therein mistake, not considering that ourselves are most guilty and blameable for it; that it is an impious people which maketh an unhappy prince; that their offences do pervert his counsels and blast his undertakings; that their prophaneness and indevotion do incense God's displeasure and

cause him to desert princes, withdrawing his gracious conduct from them, and permitting them to be misled by temptation, by ill advice, by their own infirmities, lusts and passions, into courses fit to punish a naughty people. So these were the causes of *Moses* his *speaking unadvisedly with his lips*, and that *it went ill with him for their sakes:* of *Aaron's* forming the molten calf; of *David's* numbering the people; of *Josiah's* unadvised enterprise against *Pharaoh Neco;* of *Zedekiah's* rebellion against the *Assyrians* (notwithstanding the strong dissuasions of the Prophet *Jeremiah*).

We are bound, and it is a very noble piece of charity, to love our country, sincerely to desire and earnestly to further its happiness, and therefore to pray for it; according to the advice and practice of the Psalmist, *O pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls and prosperity within thy palaces.* We are obliged, more especially upon the highest accounts, with dearest affection to love the Church (our heavenly commonwealth, the society of our spiritual brethren), most ardently to tender its good and seek its advantages; and therefore most urgently to sue for God's favour toward it: being ready to say after *David, Do good, O God, in thy good pleasure to Sion, build the walls of Jerusalem. Arise, O Lord, and have mercy upon Sion, for the time to favour her, yea, the set time is come.* Now these duties we cannot more easily, more compendiously, or more effectually discharge, than by earnestly praying for our prince; seeing that, if we do by our prayers procure God's favour to him, we do certainly draw it on the State and the Church; we cannot but partake of his good, we cannot but suffer with him. We cannot live quietly, if our prince is disturbed; we cannot live happily, if he be unfortunate; we can hardly live virtuously, if divine grace do not incline him to favour us therein, or at least restrain him from hindering us. This is St. *Paul's* own consideration: *I exhort you,* saith he, *to make prayers for kings,.....that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.* Upon such an account God did command the *Jews* to pray for the welfare of that heathen state under which they lived in captivity: *And seek,* said he, *the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof ye shall have peace.* And for the like cause the Christians of

old deemed themselves bound to pray for the Gentile magistrates: according to that of *Tertullian, We pray for you, because with you the empire is shaken; and, the other members of it being shaken, assuredly even we, how far soever we may be thought from troubles, are found in some place of the fall.* Farther,

4. Let us consider, that subjects are obliged in gratitude and ingenuity, yea, in equity and justice, to pray for their princes. For,

They most are nearly related to us, and allied by the most sacred bands; being constituted by God, in his own room, the parents and guardians of their country; being also avowed and accepted for such by solemn vows and most holy sacraments of allegiance: whence unto them as such we owe an humble piety, a very respectful affection, a most dutiful observance; the which we cannot better express or exercise than in our heartiest prayers for their welfare.

They by God are destined to be the protectors of the Church, the patrons of religion, the fosterers and cherishers of truth, of virtue, of piety: for of the Church in the evangelical times it was prophesied, *Kings shall be thy nursing fathers; thou shalt suck the breasts of kings; kings shall minister unto thee.* Wherefore to them, not only as men and citizens, but peculiarly as Christians, we owe the highest duty; and consequently we must pay the best devotion for them.

To their industry and vigilance under God we owe the fair administration of justice, the protection of right and innocence, the preservation of order and peace, the encouragement of goodness and correction of wickedness: for they, as the Apostle telleth us, *are God's ministers, attending continually on these very things.* They indeed so attend as to deny themselves, as to forgo much of their own ease, their pleasure, their satisfaction; being frequently perplexed with cares, continually enslaved to business, and subject to various inconveniences, rendering their life to considerate spectators very little desirable. For he indeed must be a very bad governor, to whom that speech of the orator *Tertullus* may not without glozing be accommodated; *Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietness, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence, we accept it always, and in all places, most noble Felix, with all thankfulness.*

5. The praying for princes is a service peculiarly honourable, and very acceptable to God ; which he will interpret as a great respect done to himself ; for that thereby we honour his image and character in them, yielding in his presence this special respect to them as his representatives ; for that thereby we avow his government of the world by them as his ministers and deputies ; for that thereby we acknowledge all power derived from him, and depending on his pleasure ; we ascribe to him an authority paramount above all earthly potentates ; we imply our persuasion that he alone is absolute sovereign of the world, *the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords ;* so that princes are nothing otherwise than in subordination to him, can do nothing without his succour, do owe to him all their power, their safety, their prosperity and welfare ; for that, in fine, thereby, disclaiming all other confidences *in any son of man,* we signify our entire submission to God's will, and sole confidence in his providence. This service therefore is a very grateful kind of adoring our Almighty Lord ; and as such St. *Paul* recommendeth it in the words immediately subjoined to our text, *For this* (saith he) *is good and acceptable in the sight of God, our Saviour.*

6. Let us consider that, whereas wisdom guiding our piety and charity will especially incline us to place our devotion there where it will be most needful and useful, we therefore chiefly must pray for Kings, because they do most need our prayers.

Their office is most high, and hard to discharge well or happily : wherefore they need extraordinary supplies of gifts and graces from the Divine bounty.

They are most exposed to dangers and disasters (standing like high towers, most obnoxious to the winds and tempests of fortune) ; having usually many envious ill-willers, many disaffected malcontents, many both open enemies and close insidiators ; from whose force or treachery no human providence can sufficiently guard them. They do therefore need the protection of the ever-vigilant *keeper of Israel,* to secure them : for, *Except the Lord keepeth the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.* Except the Lord preserve the King, his guards, his armies surround him to no purpose.

They have the natural infirmities of other men, and far beyond other men are subject to external temptations. The malicious

spirit (as in the case of *Job*, of *David*, of *Achab*, of *Joshua* the high priest is expressed) is ever waiting for occasion, ever craving permission of God to seduce and pervert them ; success therein being extremely conducible to his villainous designs. The world continually doth assault them with all its advantages ; with all its baits of pleasure, with all its enticements to pride and vanity, to oppression and injustice, to sloth, to luxury, to exorbitant self-will and self-conceit, to every sort of vitious practice. Their eminency of state, their affluence of wealth, their uncontroulable power, their exemption from common restraints, their continual distractions and incumbrances by varieties of care and business, their multitude of obsequious followers, and scarcity of faithful friends, to advise or reprove them, their having no obstacles before them to check their wills, to cross their humours, to curb their lusts and passions, are so many dangerous snares unto them. Wherefore they do need plentiful measures of grace and mighty assistances from God, to preserve them from the worst errors and sins ; into which otherwise 'tis almost a miracle if they are not plunged.

And being they are so liable to sin, they must consequently stand often in need of God's mercy to bear with them, and to pardon them. They therefore, upon so many accounts needing special help and grace from heaven, do most need prayers to derive it thence for them.

All princes indeed do need them. Good princes need many prayers for God's help, to uphold and confirm them in their virtue. Bad princes need deprecations of God's wrath and judgment toward them, for offending his Majesty ; together with supplications for God's grace to convert and reform them. The most desperate and incorrigible need prayers that God would over-rule and restrain them from doing mischief to themselves and others. All princes, having many avocations and temptations, hindering them to pray enough for themselves, do need supplemental aids from the devotions of others.

You know in general the mighty efficacy of prayer, what pregnant assurances there are, and how wonderful instances thereof occur in holy scripture, both in relation to publick and private blessings : how it is often promised that *all things, whatsoever we shall ask in prayer, believing, we shall receive ;* and that *whoever asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh*

findeth, and to him that knocketh it shall be opened; how the prayer of *Abraham* did heal *Abimelech* and his family of barrenness; how the prayers of *Moses* did quench the fire, and cure the bitings of the fiery serpent; how the prayer of *Joshua* did arrest the sun; how the prayer of *Hannah* did procure *Samuel* to her, as his name doth import; how *Elias* his prayers did open and shut the heavens; how the same holy prophet's prayer did reduce a departed soul, and that of *Elisha* did effect the same, and that of another prophet did restore *Jeroboam's* withered hand; how the prayers of God's people frequently did *raise them up saviours*, and *when they cried unto the Lord in their trouble, he delivered them out of their distresses;* how the prayers of *Asa* discomfited a million of *Arabians*, and those of *Jehosaphat* destroyed a numerous army of his enemies by their own hands, and those of *Hezekiah* brought down an angel from heaven to cut off the *Assyrians*, and those of *Manasses* restored him to his kingdom, and those of *Esther* saved her people from the brink of ruin, and those of *Nehemiah* inclined a pagan king's heart to favour his pious design for re-edifying *Jerusalem*, and those of *Daniel* obtained strange visions and discoveries; how *Noah*, *Job*, *Daniel*, *Moses* and *Samuel* are represented as powerful intercessors with God; and consequently it is intimated, that the great things atchieved by them were chiefly done by the force of their prayers.

And seeing prayers in so many cases are so effectual and work such miracles, what may we hope from them in this, wherein God so expressly and particularly directeth us to use them, and how much shall the devotions of many good men, all levelled at one mark and aiming at a publick most considerable good, be prevalent with the Divine Goodness? However, if God be not moved by prayers to convert a prince from all sin, to make him do all the good he might, to bless him in all matters, yet he may thence be induced to restrain him from much evil, to keep him from being worse, or from doing worse than otherwise would be; he may dispose him to do many things well, or better than of himself he would do; he may preserve him from many disasters otherwise incident to him: which will be considerable effects of prayer.

7. I shall add but one general consideration more; which is this, that prayer is the only allowable way of redressing our case if we do suffer by, or for, princes.

Are they bad, or do they misdemean themselves in their administration of government and justice? We may not by any violent or rough way attempt to reclaim them; for they are not accountable to us or liable to our correction. *Where the word of a king is, there is power: and who shall say to him, What doest thou?* was the *Preacher's* doctrine.

Do they oppress us or abuse us? Do they treat us harshly or cruelly persecute us? We must not kick against them, or strive to right ourselves by resistance. For, *Against a King* (saith the *Wise man*) *there is no rising up:* and *Who* (said *David*) *can stretch out his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?* And, *they* (saith St. *Paul*) *that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.*

We must not so much as ease our stomach, or discharge our passion, by railing or inveighing against them. For *Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people* is a Divine law; and to *blaspheme* or revile *dignities* is by St. *Peter* and St. *Jude* reprehended as a notable crime.

We must not be bold or free in taxing their actions. For, *Is it fit,* saith *Elihu, to say to a king, Thou art wicked, and to princes, Ye are ungodly?* And to *reproach the footsteps of God's anointed* is implied to be an impious practice.

We must forbear even complaining and murmuring against them. For *murmurers* are condemned as no mean sort of offenders; and the *Jews* in the wilderness were sorely punished for such behaviour. We must not (according to the *Preacher's* advice) so much as *curse them in our thoughts,* or entertain ill conceits and ill wishes in our minds toward them.

To do these things is not only high presumption in regard to them (inconsistent with the dutiful affection and respect which we owe to them), but it is flat impiety toward God, and an invasion of his authority; who alone is *King of kings,* and hath reserved to himself the prerogative of judging, of rebuking, of punishing kings, when he findeth cause.

These were the misdemeanours of those in the late times who, instead of praying for their Sovereign, did clamour and rail at him, did asperse him with foul imputations, did accuse his proceedings, did raise tumults and levy war against him, pretending by rude force to reduce him unto his duty; so usurping on their prince, or rather on God himself, assuming his right and taking his work out of his hands; discovering

also therein great prophaneness of mind, and distrust of God's providence, as if God, being implored by prayer, could not, or would not, had it been needful, without such irregular courses, have redressed those evils in the Church or State which they pretended to feel, or fear.

Nothing therefore in such cases is left to us for our remedy and ease but having recourse to God himself and seeking relief from his hand in good time, by converting our prince, or directing him into a good course; however comforting ourselves in the conscience of submitting to God's will.

This is the only method St. *Paul* did prescribe, even when *Nero*, a most vile, flagitious man, a sorry and naughty governor as could be, a monstruous tyrant and most bloody persecutor (the very inventer of persecution), did sway the empire. He did not advise Christians to stand upon their guard, to contrive plots, to provide arms, to raise mutinies and insurrections against him; but to offer supplications, prayers and intercessions for him, as the best means of their security and comfort. And this was the course of the primitive Christians during their hard condition under the domination of heathen princes, impugners of their religion: *prayers and tears were* then the only *arms of the Church;* whereby they long defended it from ruin, and at last advanced it to most glorious prosperity.

Indeed, if, not assuming the liberty to find fault with princes, we would practise the duty of seeking God for his blessing on their proceedings; if, forbearing to scan and censure acts of state, we would earnestly implore God's direction of them; if, leaving to conceive disgusts and vent complaints about the state of things, we would assiduously petition God for the settlement of them in good order; if, instead of being shrewd politicians or smart judges in such matters, we would be devout orators and humble solicitors at the throne of grace; our endeavours surely would find much better effect toward publick advantage; we certainly might do more good in our closets by a few hearty wishes uttered there than by all our tattling or jangling politicks in corners.

There are great contrivances to settle things; every one hath his model of state, or method of policy, to communicate for ordering the state; each is zealous for his own conceit, and apt to be displeased with those who dissent from him. But it is, as the fairest and justest, so the surest and likeliest way

of reducing things to a firm composure (without more ado, letting the world alone to move on its own hinges, and not impertinently troubling ourselves or others with the conduct of it) simply to request of Almighty God, the sovereign Governor and sole Disposer of things, that he would lead his own vicegerents in the management of the charge by himself committed to them. *Be careful for nothing; but in every thing, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known to God*, is a rule very applicable to this case.

We may also alledge the practice of the Church, continually in all times performing this duty in its most sacred offices, especially in the celebration of the Holy Communion.

St. *Paul* indeed, when he saith, *I exhort first of all, that prayers be made*, doth chiefly impose this duty on *Timothy*, or supposeth it incumbent on the pastors of the Church, to take special care, that prayers be made for this purpose, and offered up in the church jointly by all Christians: and accordingly the antient Christians, as *Tertullian* doth assure us, did *always pray for all the Emperors, that God would grant them a long life, a secure reign, a safe family, valiant armies, a faithful senate, a loyal people, a quiet world, and whatever they as men, or as emperors, could wish.* This (addeth he) even for their persecutors, and in the very pangs of their sufferings, they did not fail to practise. Likewise of the Church in his time St. *Chrysostome* telleth us that *all communicants did know how every day, both at evening and morning, they did make supplication for all the world, and for the Emperor, and for all that are in authority.* And in the *Greek* liturgies (the composure whereof is fathered on St. *Chrysostome*) there are diverse prayers interspersed for the emperors, couched in terms very pregnant and respectful.

If the offices of the *Roman* Church, and of the Churches truckling under it, in latter times, shall seem more defective or sparing in this point of service, the reason may be, for that a superlative regard to the *solar* or *pontifical* authority (as Pope *Innocent* III distinguished) did obscure their devotion for the *lunar* or *regal* majesty. But our Church hath been abundantly careful that we should in most ample manner discharge this duty; having in each of her holy offices directed us to pray for our King in expressions most full, hearty and lively.

She hath indeed been charged as somewhat lavish or over liberal of her devotions in this case. But it is a good fault, and we little need fear overdoing, in observance of a precept so very reasonable and so important, supposing that we have a due care to join our heart with the Church's words, and to the frequency of prayers for our prince do confer a suitable fervency. If we be not dead or merely formal, we can hardly be too copious in this kind of devotion; reiteration of words can do no harm, being accompanied with renovation of our desires. Our text itself will bear us out in such a practice, the Apostle therein by variety of expression appearing solicitous that abundance of prayers for kings should be offered in the church, and no sort of them omitted.

There are so many general inducements to this duty at all times; and there are beside divers particular reasons inforcing it now in the present state and posture of things.

Times of trouble, of danger, of fear, of darkness and perplexity, of distraction and distress, of guilt and deserved wrath, are most seasonable for recourse to the Divine help and mercy in prayer.

And are not ours such? Are they not much like to those of which the *Psalmist* saith, *They know not, neither will they understand; they walk on in darkness: all the foundations of the earth are out of course?* Or like those of which our Lord spake, when there was *upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which were coming on the earth?*

Are not the days gloomy, so that no human providence can see far, no wisdom can descry the issue of things?

Is it not a very unsettled world, wherein all the publick frames are shaken almost off the hinges, and the minds of men extremely discomposed with various passions; with fear, suspicion, anger, discontent and impatience? How from dissentions in opinion do violent factions and feuds rage; the hearts of men boiling with fierce animosities, and being exasperated against one another, beyond any hopes of visible means of reconcilement!

Are not the fences of discipline cast down? Is there any conscience made of violating laws? Is not the dread of authority exceedingly abated, and all government overborne by unbridled licentiousness?

How many adversaries are there, *bearing ill-will to our Sion!* How many turbulent, malicious, crafty spirits, eagerly bent, and watching for occasion, to subvert the Church, to disturb the State, to introduce confusion in all things! How many *Edomites*, who say of *Jerusalem* (both ecclesiastical and civil), *Down with it, down with it, even to the ground!*

Have we not great reason to be fearful of God's just displeasure, and that heavy judgments will be poured on us for our manifold hainous provocations and crying sins; for the prodigious growth of atheism, infidelity and prophaneness; for the rife practice of all impieties, iniquities and impurities with most impudent boldness, or rather with outragious insolence; for the extreme dissoluteness in manners, the gross neglect or contempt of all duties, the great stupidity and coldness of people generally as to all concerns of religion; for the want of religious awe toward God, of charity toward our neighbour, of respect to our superiors, of sobriety in our conversation; for our ingratitude for many great mercies, our incorrigibleness under many sore chastisements, our insensibleness of many plain warnings loudly calling us to repentance?

Is not all the world about us in combustion, cruel wars raging every where, and Christendom weltering in blood? And although at present, by God's mercy, we are free, who knows that but soon, by God's justice, the neighbouring flames may catch our houses?

In fine, is not our case palpably such, that for any good composure or re-instatement of things in good order, for upholding truth and sound doctrine, for reducing charity and peace, for reviving the spirit of piety and bringing virtue again into request, for preserving State and Church from ruin, we can have no confidence or reasonable hope but in the good providence and merciful succour of Almighty God; *beside whom there is no Saviour;* who alone is *the hope of Israel, and saviour thereof in time of trouble?* We now having great cause to pray with our Lord's disciples in the storm, *Lord, save us, we perish.*

Upon such considerations, and others whereof I suppose you are sufficiently apprehensive, we now especially are obliged earnestly to pray for our King, that God in mercy would preserve his royal person, and inspire his mind with light, and endue his heart with grace, and in all things bless him to us, to be *a repairer of our breaches, and a restorer of paths to dwell in;* so

that *under him we may lead a quiet life in all godliness and honesty.*

Blessed be God, who hath given to us so gracious and benign a Prince (the experiments of whose clemency and goodness no history can parallel) to sit on the throne of his blessed Father and renowned ancestors.

Blessed be God, who hath protected him in so many encounters, hath saved him from so many dangers and snares, hath delivered him from so great troubles.

Blessed be God, who in so wonderful a manner, by such miraculous trains of providence, did reduce him to his countrey, and re-instate him in the possession of his rights; thereby vindicating his own just providence, *declaring his salvation, and openly shewing his righteousness in the sight of all people.*

Blessed be God who in him and with him did restore to us our antient good constitution of government, our laws and liberties, our peace and quiet; rescuing us from lawless usurpations and tyrannical yokes, from the insultings of error and iniquity, from horrible distractions and confusions.

Ever blessed be God, who hath *turned the captivity of Sion;* hath raised our Church from the dust, and re-established the sound doctrine, the decent order, the wholesome discipline thereof; hath restored true religion with its supports, advantages and encouragements.

Blessed be the Lord, who hath granted us to continue these sixteen years in the peaceable fruition of those blessings.

Praised be God, *who hath not cast out our prayer, nor turned his mercy from us.*

Praised be God, who *hath turned our heaviness into joy, hath put off our sackcloth, and girded us with gladness.*

Let our mouth speak the praise of the Lord; and let all flesh bless his holy name for ever and ever.

ROBERT SOUTH (1633-1716)

Like Isaac Barrow, who was his senior by three years and whom he overlived by forty, Robert South was the son of a London merchant. No men could be of more different temperaments, the mathematician and philosopher standing for Cambridge at its best, the brilliant and bellicose ecclesiastic for Oxford, not altogether at its best. Indeed South's deserved fame has been chiefly blackened by the author, though they were on the same side in politics, of the *Athenæ Oxonienses;* but Anthony Wood, who had the fortune to write his enemies' lives, had a personal grudge against the Oxford Public Orator. He calls him an ambitious time-server. The story is well known how, while the scaffold before Whitehall waited on the fatal January morning in 1649, a senior Westminster boy said the Latin morning prayers, and prayed aloud for his Sovereign, awaiting martyrdom. We are not told what the grim old Busby said, but it is fitting that South's ashes should lie next his old preceptor's in the Abbey church. Yet, living into the Hanoverian age, South was no nonjuror, and his toryism had always been somewhat compliant: witness the congratulatory Latin poem—to be sure, only a degree exercise—addressed to the Protector in 1654, or his Calvinian discourses at St. Mary's until that side went under in 1659, when his Oxford assize-sermon, assailing Independency, delighted the dominant Presbyterians. He had lately received episcopal ordination. When a Restoration appeared imminent, according to Wood's highly-coloured account, South began to attack the Presbyterians, and was regarded in the University as so little of a real loyalist that, after the King's return, he was nearly refused the doctorate for which the Chancellor, Clarendon, who had made South his chaplain, recommended him.

It is unjust, however, to regard South as a mere opportunist.

Though not a man of deep spirituality, he had sincere religious principles, and strong political convictions. He expressed them vehemently, passionately, rudely, but not hypocritically. Curll, who wrote a eulogistic memoir soon after South's death, says that he refused several offers of advancement to the episcopate. It is known also that he was disinterested in money matters. Of his great abilities there can be no doubt—Milman speaks of him as "a terrible antagonist," ready to launch sharp and bitter arrows. And, in an age of oratory, his pure and nervous English, his imaginative but lucid and logical exposition, placed him in the front rank of preachers.

The powerful sermon here given is a specimen of South's non-controversial manner. It contains the famous saying that Aristotle was but the rubbish of an Adam, and Athens but the rudiments of Paradise. The subject of fallen and unparadised humanity, the image of God upon it defaced, had been brought before men's minds by a movement of thought of which the Port-Royalist literature in France and Milton's *Paradise Lost* in England were symptoms. Pascal calls man "un roi dépossédé." Shakespeare had penned that noble idealization of the logician's *animal rationale*:—"What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason, how infinite in faculty, his doing and moving how express and admirable! In action how like an angel! In apprehension how like a god! The beauty of the world, the paragon of animals!" "Homo est deaster quidam," wrote Bacon. "Man," said Sir Thomas Browne, "is a noble animal." Grotius and his school of jurists philosophized on the state of nature, the declension from which had made positive laws necessary. And South's contemporary, Bishop Bull, delivered a notable discourse on the Primitive State. The next century, under the tuition of Rousseau, that "apostle of nature in a wig," sentimentalized in salons about our simple, happy, barbaric instincts, and, in Johnson's phrase, canted about the noble savage, running wild in his woods and not yet sophisticated

by laws and manners. Mankind, indeed, has always looked back wistfully to an idyllic age of gold, when men and beasts lived happily together, and this is the tradition of all poets and all religions, for God made man upright. Travellers have thought to find the unspoiled image of God in Hyperboreans or untutored Indians: "void of all guile and treason," Sir Philip Sidney pronounced these to be, "living after the manner of the golden time"—until Elizabethan pioneers of civilization carried off those who survived massacre as slaves. Truly we had our own vices to teach the barbarian. But "nasty, brutish and short" is Hobbes's description of the "state of nature," and Napoleon once said:—"I am disgusted with Rousseau since I have seen the Orient. Man in the wild state is a dog."

The Jean Jacques conception of primitive humanity differs from the Christian doctrine of man's paradisal innocence and companionship of angels in that it ignores the doctrine, from which Christianity starts, of the Fall and the need of a New Birth. God's Son was made man by a virginal birth, not to develop our old nature, but to redeem it and reconstruct it from the foundations. Kant speaks of a "radical evil" in man, and the night side of humanity stands in appalling contradiction to our comfortable Pelagian ideas. The theory of evolution has now made a restatement of the doctrine of the Fall necessary, and the task remains as yet almost unattempted. South's sermon does not deal directly with the spoiling of the Creator's work, but only depicts very finely the ideal of humanity as God designed it, giving to it those potentialities which were realized in the perfect Humanity of His Incarnate Son.

The sermon stands second in the collected edition of South's discourses, and was preached at St. Paul's before the Corporation of London on "Lord Mayor's Day," 1662. In the dedication, speaking of the "raw endeavours of a young divine," he takes credit for not preaching a political sermon in that

place, so lately made a stable for troopers' horses, and for having chosen a subject "inoffensive, harmless and innocent as the state of innocence itself," suitable, indeed, to a nation bent on recovery from guilt. He mentions that his manuscript had been stolen, since otherwise the thief may denounce him as a plagiary. What is here is a noble piece of English.

Man Created in God's Image

So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him.—Genesis i, 27.

How hard it is for natural reason to discover a creation before revealed, or being revealed to believe it, the strange opinions of the old philosophers, and the infidelity of modern atheists, is too sad a demonstration. To run the world back to its first original and infancy, and (as it were) to view nature in its cradle, to trace the outgoings of the Ancient of days in the first instance and specimen of his creative power, is a research too great for any mortal inquiry. And we might continue our scrutiny to the end of the world, before natural reason would be able to find out when it begun.

Epicurus's discourse concerning the original of the world is so fabulous and ridiculously merry that we may well judge the design of his philosophy to have been pleasure, and not instruction.

Aristotle held that it streamed by connatural result and emanation from God, the infinite and eternal mind, as the light issues from the sun; so that there was no instant of duration assignable of God's eternal existence, in which the world did not also coexist.

Others held a fortuitous concourse of atoms; but all seem jointly to explode a creation; still beating upon this ground, that to produce something out of nothing is impossible and incomprehensible. Incomprehensible indeed I grant, but not therefore impossible. There is not the least transaction of sense and motion in the whole man, but philosophers are at a loss to comprehend, I am sure they are to explain, it. Wherefore it is not always rational to measure the truth of an assertion by the standard of our apprehension.

But to bring things even to the bare perceptions of reason, I appeal to any one, who shall impartially reflect upon the

ideas and conceptions of his own mind, whether he doth not find it as easy and suitable to his natural notions to conceive that an infinite almighty Power might produce a thing out of nothing, and make that to exist *de novo* which did not exist before, as to conceive the world to have had no beginning, but to have existed from eternity: which, were it so proper for this place and exercise, I could easily demonstrate to be attended with no small train of absurdities. But then, besides that the acknowledging of a creation is safe, and the denial of it dangerous and irreligious, and yet no more (perhaps much less) demonstrable than the affirmative: so, over and above, it gives me this advantage, that, let it seem never so strange, uncouth and impossible, the nonplus of my reason will yield a fairer opportunity to my faith.

In this chapter we have God surveying the works of the creation, and leaving this general impress or character upon them, *that they were exceeding good.* What an omnipotence wrought we have an omniscience to approve. But as it is reasonable to imagine that there is more of design, and consequently more of perfection, in the last work, we have God here giving his last stroke, and summing up all into man, the whole into a part, the universe into an individual: so that, whereas in other creatures we have but the trace of his footsteps, in man we have the draught of his hand. In him were united all the scattered perfections of the creature; all the graces and ornaments, all the airs and features, of being were abridged into this small, yet full, system of nature and divinity: as we might well imagine that the great artificer would be more than ordinarily exact in drawing his own picture.

The work that I shall undertake from these words shall be to show what this image of God in man is, and wherein it doth consist. Which I shall do these two ways: 1. Negatively, by showing wherein it does not consist. 2. Positively, by showing wherein it does.

For the first of these, we are to remove the erroneous opinion of the Socinians. They deny that the image of God consisted in any habitual perfections that adorned the soul of Adam, but as to his understanding bring him in void of all notion, a rude unwritten blank; making him to be created as much an infant as others are born; sent into the world only to read and spell out a God in the works of creation, to learn by degrees,

till at length his understanding grew up to the stature of his body. Also without any inherent habits of vertue in his will; thus divesting him of all, and stripping him to his bare essence; so that all the perfection they allowed his understanding was aptness and docility; and all that they attributed to his will was a possibility to be vertuous.

But wherein then, according to their opinion, did this image of God consist? Why, in that power and dominion that God gave Adam over the creatures: in that he was vouched his immediate deputy upon earth, and viceroy of the creation, and lord-lieutenant of the world. But that this power and dominion is not adequately and formally the image of God, but only a part of it, is clear from hence; because then he that had most of this would have most of God's image: and consequently Nimrod had more of it than Noah, Saul than Samuel, the persecutors than the martyrs, and Cæsar than Christ himself, which to assert is a blasphemous paradox. And if the image of God is only grandeur, power and sovereignty, certainly we have been hitherto much mistaken in our duty, and hereafter are by all means to beware of making ourselves unlike God by too much self-denial and humility. I am not ignorant that some may distinguish between ἐξουσία and δύναμις, between a lawful authority and an actual power, and affirm that God's image consists only in the former; which wicked princes, such as Saul and Nimrod, have not, though they possess the latter. But to this I answer,

1. That the scripture neither makes nor owns such a distinction, nor any where asserts that, when princes begin to be wicked, they cease of right to be governours. Add to this, that, when God renewed this charter of man's sovereignty over the creatures to Noah and his family, we find no exception at all, but that Cham stood as fully invested with his right as any of his brethren.

2. But secondly; this savours of something ranker than Socinianism, even the tenets of the fifth monarchy, and of sovereignty founded only upon saintship; and therefore fitter to be answered by the judge than by the divine, and to receive its confutation at the bar of justice than from the pulpit.

Having now made our way through this false opinion, we are in the next place to lay down positively what this image

of God in man is. It is, in short, that universal rectitude of all the faculties of the soul by which they stand apt and disposed to their respective offices and operations: which will be more fully set forth by taking a distinct survey of it, in the several faculties belonging to the soul.

I. In the understanding.

II. In the will.

III. In the passions or affections.

I. And first for its noblest faculty, the understanding: it was then sublime, clear and aspiring, and, as it were, the soul's upper region, lofty and serene, free from the vapours and disturbances of the inferior affections. It was the leading, controlling faculty; all the passions wore the colours of reason; it did not so much persuade, as command; it was not consul, but dictator. Discourse was then almost as quick as intuition; it was nimble in proposing, firm in concluding; it could sooner determine than now it can dispute. Like the sun, it had both light and agility; it knew no rest but in motion; no quiet but in activity. It did not so properly apprehend as irradiate the object; not so much find as make things intelligible. It did arbitrate upon the several reports of sense and all the varieties of imagination; not like a drowsy judge, only hearing, but also directing their verdict. In sum, it was vegete, quick and lively; open as the day, untainted as the morning, full of the innocence and sprightliness of youth; it gave the soul a bright and a full view into all things, and was not only a window, but itself the prospect. Briefly, there is as much difference between the clear representations of the understanding then, and the obscure discoveries that it makes now, as there is between the prospect of a casement and of a key-hole.

Now as there are two great functions of the soul, contemplation and practice, according to that general division of objects, some of which only entertain our speculation, others also employ our actions: so the understanding with relation to these, not because of any distinction in the faculty itself, is accordingly divided into speculative and practick; in both of which the image of God was then apparent.

Now it was Adam's happiness in the state of innocence to have these clear and unsullied. He came into the world a philosopher, which sufficiently appeared by his writing the

nature of things upon their names; he could view essences in themselves, and read forms without the comment of their respective properties; he could see consequents yet dormant in their principles, and effects yet unborn, and in the womb of their causes; his understanding could almost pierce into future contingents, his conjectures improving even to prophecy, or the certainties of prediction; till his fall, he was ignorant of nothing but of sin; or at least he rested in the notion, without the smart of the experiment. Could any difficulty have been proposed, the resolution would have been as early as the proposal; it could not have had time to settle into doubt. Like a better Archimedes, the issue of all his inquiries was an *εὕρηκα*, the offspring of his brain without the sweat of his brow. Study was not then a duty, night-watchings were needless; the light of reason wanted not the assistance of a candle. This is the doom of fallen man, to labour in the fire, to seek truth *in profundo*, to exhaust his time and impair his health, and perhaps to spin out his days, and himself, into one pitiful, controverted conclusion. There was then no poring, no struggling with memory, no straining for invention; his faculties were quick and expedite; they answered without knocking, they were ready upon the first summons, there were freedom and firmness in all their operations. I confess, it is difficult for us, who date our ignorance from our first being, and were still bred up with the same infirmities about us with which we were born, to raise our thoughts and imagination to those intellectual perfections that attended our nature in the time of innocence, as it is for a peasant, bred up in the obscurities of a cottage, to fancy in his mind the unseen splendours of a court. But by rating positives by their privatives, and other arts of reason, by which discourse supplies the want of the reports of sense, we may collect the excellency of the understanding then by the glorious remainders of it now, and guess at the stateliness of the building by the magnificence of its ruins. All those arts, rarities and inventions which vulgar minds gaze at, the ingenious pursue, and all admire, are but the reliques of an intellect defaced with sin and time. We admire it now, only as antiquaries do a piece of old coin, for the stamp it once bore, and not for those vanishing lineaments and disappearing draughts that remain upon it at present.

And certainly that must needs have been very glorious, the decays of which are so admirable. He that is comely, when old and decrepid, surely was very beautiful when he was young. An Aristotle was but the rubbish of an Adam, and Athens but the rudiments of Paradise.

2. The image of God was no less resplendent in that which we call man's practical understanding; namely, that storehouse of the soul, in which are treasured up the rules of action and the seeds of morality. Where we must observe, that many who deny all connate notions in the speculative intellect do yet admit them in this. Now of this sort are these maxims; that God is to be worshipped; that parents are to be honoured; that a man's word is to be kept, and the like: which, being of universal influence, as to the regulation of the behaviour and converse of mankind, are the ground of all vertue and civility, and the foundation of religion.

It was the privilege of Adam innocent to have these notions also firm and untainted, to carry his monitor in his bosom, his law in his heart, and to have such a conscience as might be its own casuist: and certainly those actions must needs be regular where there is an identity between the rule and the faculty. His own mind taught him a due dependence upon God, and chalked out to him the just proportions and measures of behaviour to his fellow-creatures. He had no catechism but the creation, needed no study but reflexion, read no book but the volume of the world, and that too, not for rules to work by, but for objects to work upon. Reason was his tutor, and first principles his *magna moralia*. The decalogue of Moses was but a transcript, not an original. All the laws of nations and wise decrees of states, the statutes of Solon and the twelve tables, were but a paraphrase upon this standing rectitude of nature, this fruitful principle of justice, that was ready to run out and enlarge itself into suitable determinations, upon all emergent objects and occasions. Justice then was neither blind to discern, nor lame to execute. It was not subject to be imposed upon by a deluded fancy, nor yet to be bribed by a glozing appetite, for an *utile* or *jucundum* to turn the balance to a false and dishonest sentence. In all its directions of the inferior faculties, it conveyed its suggestions with clearness, and enjoined them with power; it had the passions in perfect subjection; and though its command

over them was but suasive and political, yet it had the force of coaction, and despotical. It was not then, as it is now, where the conscience has only power to disapprove, and to protest against the exorbitances of the passions; and rather to wish, than make, them otherwise. The voice of conscience now is low and weak, chastising the passions, as old Eli did his lustful, domineering sons; *Not so, my sons, not so;* but the voice of conscience then was not, This should, or This ought to, be done; but, This *must*, This *shall be* done. It spoke like a legislator; the thing spoke was a law; and the manner of speaking it a new obligation. In short, there was as great a disparity between the practical dictates of the understanding then and now as there is between empire and advice, counsel and command, between a companion and a governour.

And thus much for the image of God, as it shone in man's understanding.

II. Let us in the next place take a view of it, as it was stamped upon the will. It is much disputed by divines concerning the power of man's will to good and evil in the state of innocence; and upon very nice and dangerous precipices stand their determinations on either side. Some hold that God invested him with a power to stand, so that in the strength of that power received he might, without the auxiliaries of any further influence, have determined his will to a full choice of good. Others hold that, notwithstanding this power, yet it was impossible for him to exert it in any good action without a superadded assistance of grace, actually determining that power to the certain production of such an act. So that, whereas some distinguish between sufficient and effectual grace, they order the matter so as to acknowledge none sufficient but what is indeed effectual, and actually productive of a good action. I shall not presume to interpose dogmatically in a controversy which I look never to see decided. But concerning the latter of these opinions, I shall only give these two remarks:—

1. That it seems contrary to the common and natural conceptions of all mankind, who acknowledge themselves able and sufficient to do many things, which actually they never do.

2. That to assert that God looked upon Adam's fall as a sin, and punished it as such, when, without any antecedent

sin of his, he withdrew that actual grace from him upon the withdrawing of which it was impossible for him not to fall, seems a thing that highly reproaches the essential equity and goodness of the Divine nature.

Wherefore, doubtless the will of man in the state of innocence had an entire freedom, a perfect equipendency and indifference to either part of the contradiction, to stand or not to stand, to accept or not accept the temptation. I will grant the will of man now to be as much a slave as any one will have it, and be only free to sin; that is, instead of a liberty, to have only a licentiousness; yet certainly this is not nature, but chance. We were not born crooked; we learnt these windings and turnings of the serpent: and therefore it cannot but be a blasphemous piece of ingratitude to ascribe them to God, and to make the plague of our nature the condition of our creation.

The will was then ductile, and pliant to all the motions of right reason; it met the dictates of a clarified understanding half way. And the active informations of the intellect, filling the passive reception of the will, like form closing with matter, grew actuate into a third and distinct perfection of practice. The understanding and will never disagreed; for the proposals of the one never thwarted the inclinations of the other. Yet neither did the will servilely attend upon the understanding, but as a favourite does upon his prince, where the service is privilege and preferment; or as Solomon's servants waited upon him, it admired its wisdom, and heard its prudent dictates and counsels, both the direction and the reward of its obedience. It is indeed the nature of this faculty to follow a superior guide, to be drawn by the intellect; but then it was drawn as a triumphant chariot, which at the same time both follows and triumphs; while it obeyed this, it commanded the other faculties. It was subordinate, not enslaved to the understanding: not as a servant to a master, but as a queen to her king, who both acknowledges a subjection, and yet retains a majesty.

Pass we now downward from man's intellect and will,

III. To the passions, which have their residence and situation chiefly in the sensitive appetite. For we must know that, inasmuch as man is a compound, and mixture of flesh as well as spirit, the soul, during its abode in the body, does

all things by the mediation of these passions and inferior affections. And here the opinion of the Stoicks was famous and singular, who looked upon all these as sinful defects and irregularities, as so many deviations from right reason, making passion to be only another word for perturbation. Sorrow, in their esteem, was a sin, scarce to be expiated by another; to pity was a fault; to rejoice, an extravagance; and the Apostle's advice, to be angry and sin not, was a contradiction in their philosophy. But in this they were constantly outvoted by other sects of philosophers, neither for fame nor number less than themselves: so that all arguments brought against them from divinity would come in by way of overplus to their confutation. To us let this be sufficient, that our Saviour Christ, who took upon him all our natural infirmities, but none of our sinful, has been seen to weep, to be sorrowful, to pity, and to be angry: which shows that there might be gall in a dove, passion without sin, fire without smoke, and motion without disturbance. For it is not bare agitation, but the sediment at the bottom, that troubles and defiles the water: and when we see it windy and dusty, the wind does not (as we use to say) make, but only raise, the dust.

Now, though the schools reduce all the passions to these two heads, the concupiscible and the irascible appetite, yet I shall not tie myself to an exact prosecution of them under this division; but at this time, leaving both their terms and their method to themselves, consider only the principal and most noted passions, from whence we may take an estimate of the rest.

And first, for the grand leading affection of all, which is love. This is the great instrument and engine of nature, the bond and cement of society, the spring and spirit of the universe. Love is such an affection as cannot so properly be said to be in the soul as the soul to be in that. It is the whole man wrapt up into one desire; all the powers, vigour and faculties of the soul abridged into one inclination. And it is of that active, restless nature that it must of necessity exert itself; and like the fire, to which it is so often compared, it is not a free agent, to choose whether it will heat or no, but it streams forth by natural results and unavoidable emanations. So that it will fasten upon any inferior, unsuitable object, rather than none at all. The soul may sooner leave off

to subsist than to love; and, like the vine, it withers and dies, if it has nothing to embrace. Now this affection in the state of innocence was happily pitched upon its right object; it flamed up in direct fervours of devotion to God, and in collateral emissions of charity to its neighbour. It was not then only another and more cleanly name for lust. It had none of those impure heats that both represent and deserve hell. It was a vestal and a virgin fire, and differed as much from that which usually passes by this name nowadays as the vital heat from the burning of a fever.

Then, for the contrary passion of hatred. This, we know, is the passion of defiance, and there is a kind of aversation and hostility included in its very essence and being. But then (if there could have been hatred in the world, when there was scarce any thing odious) it would have acted within the compass of its proper object. Like aloes, bitter indeed, but wholesome. There would have been no rancour, no hatred of our brother: an innocent nature could hate nothing that was innocent. In a word, so great is the commutation that the soul then hated only that which now only it loves, that is, sin.

And if we may bring anger under this head, as being, according to some, a transient hatred, or at least very like it: this also, as unruly as now it is, yet then it vented itself by the measures of reason. There was no such thing as the transports of malice, or the violences of revenge: no rendering evil for evil, when evil was truly a nonentity, and no where to be found. Anger then was like the sword of justice, keen, but innocent and righteous: it did not act like fury, and then call itself zeal. It always espoused God's honour, and never kindled upon any thing but in order to a sacrifice. It sparkled like the coal upon the altar, with the fervours of piety, the heats of devotion, the sallies and vibrations of an harmless activity. In the next place, for the lightsome passion of joy. It was not that which now often usurps this name—that trivial, vanishing, superficial thing, that only gilds the apprehension, and plays upon the surface of the soul. It was not the mere crackling of thorns, a sudden blaze of the spirits, the exultation of a tickled fancy or a pleased appetite. Joy was then a masculine and a severe thing, the recreation of the judgment, the jubilee of reason. It was

the result of a real good, suitably applied. It commenced upon the solidities of truth and the substance of fruition. It did not run out in voice, or undecent eruptions, but filled the soul, as God does the universe, silently and without noise. It was refreshing, but composed; like the pleasantness of youth tempered with the gravity of age; or the mirth of a festival managed with the silence of contemplation.

And, on the other side, for sorrow. Had any loss or disaster made but room for grief, it would have moved according to the severe allowances of prudence, and the proportions of the provocation. It would not have sallied out into complaint or loudness, nor spread itself upon the face, and writ sad stories upon the forehead. No wringing of the hands, knocking the breast, or wishing one's self unborn; all which are but the ceremonies of sorrow, the pomp and ostentation of an effeminate grief: which speak not so much the greatness of the misery as the smallness of the mind. Tears may spoil the eyes, but not wash away the affliction. Sighs may exhaust the man, but not eject the burden. Sorrow then would have been as silent as thoughts, as severe as philosophy. It would have rested in inward senses, tacit dislikes, and the whole scene of it been transacted in sad and silent reflexions.

Then again for hope. Though indeed the fulness and affluence of man's enjoyments in the state of innocence might seem to leave no place for hope, in respect of any further addition, but only of the prorogation and future continuance of what already he possessed: yet, doubtless, God, who made no faculty but also provided it with a proper object, upon which it might exercise and lay out itself, even in its greatest innocence, did then exercise man's hopes with the expectations of a better paradise, or a more intimate admission to himself. For it is not imaginable that Adam could fix upon such poor, thin enjoyments as riches, pleasure, and the gaieties of an animal life. Hope indeed was always the anchor of the soul, yet certainly it was not to catch or fasten upon such mud. And if, as the Apostle says, *no man hopes for that which he sees*, much less could Adam then hope for such things as he saw through.

And lastly, for the affection of fear. It was then the instrument of caution, not of anxiety; a guard, and not a torment to the breast that had it. It is now indeed an unhappiness,

the disease of the soul; it flies from a shadow, and makes more dangers than it avoids; it weakens the judgment, and betrays the succours of reason: so hard is it to tremble and not to err, and to hit the mark with a shaking hand. Then it fixed upon him who is only to be feared, God: and yet with a filial fear, which at the same time both fears and loves. It was awe without amazement, dread without distraction. There was then a beauty even in this very paleness. It was the colour of devotion, giving a lustre to reverence and a gloss to humility.

Thus did the passions then act without any of their present jars, combats or repugnances; all moving with the beauty of uniformity, and the stillness of composure. Like a well-governed army, not for fighting, but for rank and order. I confess the scriptures do not expressly attribute these several endowments to Adam in his first estate. But all that I have said, and much more, may be drawn out of that short aphorism, *God made man upright*, Eccl. vii, 29. And since the opposite weaknesses now infest the nature of man fallen, if we will be true to the rule of contraries, we must conclude that those perfections were the lot of man innocent.

Now from this so exact and regular composure of the faculties, all moving in their due place, each striking in its proper time, there arose, by natural consequence, the crowning perfection of all, a good conscience. For, as in the body, when the principal parts, as the heart and liver, do their offices, and all the inferior, smaller vessels act orderly and duly, there arises a sweet enjoyment upon the whole, which we call health: so in the soul, when the supreme faculties of the will and understanding move regularly, the inferior passions and affections following, there arises a serenity and complacency upon the whole soul, infinitely beyond the greatest bodily pleasures, the highest quintessence and elixir of worldly delights. There is in this case a kind of fragrancy, and spiritual perfume upon the conscience; much like what Isaac spoke of his son's garments; *that the scent of them was like the smell of a field which the Lord had blessed*. Such a freshness and flavour is there upon the soul, when daily watered with the actions of a vertuous life. Whatsoever is pure is also pleasant.

Having thus surveyed the image of God in the soul of man, we are not to omit now those characters of majesty that

God imprinted upon the body. He drew some traces of his image upon this also; as much as a spiritual substance could be pictured upon a corporeal. As for the sect of the Anthropomorphites, who from hence ascribe to God the figure of a man, eyes, hands, feet, and the like, they are too ridiculous to deserve a confutation. They would seem to draw this impiety from the letter of the scripture sometimes speaking of God in this manner. Absurdly; as if the mercy of scripture expressions ought to warrant the blasphemy of our opinions, and not rather show us that God condescends to us, only to draw us to himself, and clothes himself in our likeness, only to win us to his own. But to the purpose: Adam was then no less glorious in his externals; he had a beautiful body, as well as an immortal soul. The whole compound was like a well built temple, stately without, and sacred within. The elements were at perfect union and agreement in his body; and their contrary qualities served not for the dissolution of the compound, but the variety of the composure. Galen, who had no more divinity than what his physick taught him, barely upon the consideration of this so exact frame of the body, challenges any one, upon an hundred years study, to find how any the least fibre, or most minute particle, might be more commodiously placed, either for the advantage of use or comeliness. His stature erect, and tending upwards to his centre; his countenance majestick and comely, with the lustre of a native beauty that scorned the poor assistance of art, or the attempts of imitation; his body of so much quickness and agility, that it did not only contain, but also represent, the soul: for we might well suppose that, where God did deposit so rich a jewel, he would suitably adorn the case. It was a fit workhouse for sprightly vivid faculties to exercise and exert themselves in. A fit tabernacle for an immortal soul, not only to dwell in, but to contemplate upon: where it might see the world without travel; it being a lesser scheme of the creation, nature contracted, a little cosmography, or map of the universe. Neither was the body then subject to distempers, to die by piecemeal, and languish under coughs, catarrhs or consumptions. Adam knew no disease, so long as temperance from the forbidden fruit secured him. Nature was his physician; and innocence and abstinence would have kept him healthful to immortality.

Now the use of this point might be various, but at present it shall be only this ; to remind us of the irreparable loss that we sustained in our first parents, to show us of how fair a portion Adam disinherited his whole posterity by one single prevarication. Take the picture of a man in the greenness and vivacity of his youth, and in the latter date and declensions of his drooping years, and you will scarce know it to belong to the same person : there would be more art to discern than at first to draw it. The same and greater is the difference between man innocent and fallen. He is, as it were, a new kind or species ; the plague of sin has even altered his nature, and eaten into his very essentials. The image of God is wiped out, the creatures have shook off his yoke, renounced his sovereignty, and revolted from his dominion. Distempers and diseases have shattered the excellent frame of his body ; and, by a new dispensation, *immortality is swallowed up of mortality*. The same disaster and decay also has invaded his spirituals : the passions rebel, every faculty would usurp and rule ; and there are so many governours that there can be no government. The light within us is become darkness ; and the understanding, that should be eyes to the blind faculty of the will, is blind itself, and so brings all the inconveniences that attend a blind follower under the conduct of a blind guide. He that would have a clear, ocular demonstration of this, let him reflect upon that numerous litter of strange, senseless, absurd opinions, that crawl about the world, to the disgrace of reason, and the unanswerable reproach of a broken intellect.

The two great perfections, that both adorn and exercise man's understanding, are philosophy and religion. For the first of these ; take it even amongst the professors of it, where it most flourished, and we shall find the very first notions of common sense debauched by them. For there have been such as have asserted, that there is no such thing in the world as motion ; the contradictions may be true. There has not been wanting one that has denied snow to be white. Such a stupidity or wantonness had seized upon the most raised wits that it might be doubted whether the philosophers or the owls of Athens were the quicker sighted. But then for religion ; what prodigious, monstrous, misshapen births has the reason of fallen man produced ! It is now almost six thousand years that far the greatest part of the world has had no other religion

but idolatry: and idolatry certainly is the first-born of folly, the great and leading paradox; nay, the very abridgment and sum total of all absurdities. For is it not strange that a rational man should worship an ox, nay, the image of an ox? that he should fawn upon his dog? bow himself before a cat? adore leeks and garlic, and shed penitential tears at the smell of a deified onion? Yet so did the Egyptians, once the famed masters of all arts and learning. And to go a little further; we have yet a stranger instance in Isa. xliv, 14. *A man hews him down a tree in the wood, and part of it he burns,* in ver. 16, and in ver. 17 *with the residue thereof he maketh a god.* With one part he furnishes his chimney, with the other his chapel. A strange thing, that the fire must consume this part, and then burn incense to that. As if there was more divinity in one end of the stick than in the other; or as if it could be graved and painted omnipotent, or the nails and the hammer could give it an apotheosis. Briefly, so great is the change, so deplorable the degradation, of our nature, that, whereas before we bore the image of God, we now retain only the image of men.

In the last place, we learn from hence the excellency of Christian religion, in that it is the great and only means that God has sanctified and designed to repair the breaches of humanity, to set fallen man upon his legs again, to clarify his reason, to rectify his will, and to compose and regulate his affections. The whole business of our redemption is, in short, only to rub over the defaced copy of the creation, to reprint God's image upon the soul, and (as it were) to set forth nature in a second and a fairer edition.

The recovery of which lost image, as it is God's pleasure to command, and our duty to endeavour, so it is in his power only to effect.

To whom be rendered and ascribed, as is most due, all praise, might, majesty and dominion, both now and for evermore. Amen.

HENRY SACHEVERELL (1672-1724)

THERE have been many noble-spirited "political parsons"—Savonarola was one in mediæval Florence—and there have been more base specimens; for politics, which should be an endeavour at realizing one side of Christ's Kingdom, are in fact a muddy arena. Sacheverell was neither upraised nor base, but a somewhat vulgar-minded pulpiteer, who won the huzzas of the mob by appealing to their passions, and, with a good cause behind him, spoiled it by his violent invective. The subjoined sermon, if the hysterical italics of the original edition had been retained, would be almost unreadable. Nevertheless it is one of the most notable sermons in English history, for it turned the Whigs out of office and brought their opponents in.

Henry Sacheverell was the dear friend of Addison, whose chamber-fellow he had been at Magdalen, where a fine portrait of him hangs, and was a sufficiently good scholar. In 1705, about ten years after ordination, he was appointed Preacher at St. Saviour's, Southwark, and while holding that post delivered the two passionate sermons which set England on fire. One was preached on Aug. 14, 1709, at the Derby Assizes, entitled "The Communication of Sin," the other on Powder-Plot day in that year before the Corporation of London, entitled "In Perils among False Brethren." It was the latter which excited most anger in the Whig and Low-church party, then in office, and on Dec. 13, soon after the printing of the two sermons, Sacheverell and his printer were ordered to attend at the bar of the Commons, and his impeachment was resolved on, the Sergeant-at-Arms taking him into custody. The historic trial before the House of Lords began on the following Feb. 27, in Westminster Hall, the Doctor, who had been granted bail, being escorted to and from his lodgings by a vast crowd,

shouting "God bless the Queen! God preserve the Church of England and Dr. Sacheverell!" Passing coaches and chairs were stopped to make the people in them pull off their hats and cry, "God bless him." Even the Queen's carriage was surrounded by a mob crying, "We hope your Majesty is for High Church and Dr. Sacheverell." The trial lasted till March 23, when by sixty-nine contents to forty-two non-contents the Lords condemned Sacheverell not to preach for three years ensuing, and the two sermons to be burnt before the Royal Exchange by the common hangman. The sentence was, of course, an immense triumph for him; honours and congratulations poured in upon him, and the Queen presented him to a valuable living. She took courage to dismiss the Ministry, dissolved Parliament, and obtained an overwhelming Tory majority in the new House.

Atterbury, who next year was elected Prolocutor over his Whig rival Kennet, had spoken eloquently for Sacheverell at the trial, and when, years afterwards, he was himself an exile received a grateful legacy from him. But there was no personal friendship between them, and the finer minds among the Tories did not care much for their champion and his admiring mob. To the non-jurors and Jacobites like Hearne he seemed a mere trimmer. Being impeached by the Commons for "reflecting on the glory of our late Royal Deliverer," aspersing the "Happy Revolution" and undermining the Protestant Succession and the Queen's title to the throne, Sacheverell had indignantly denied the charges, only justifying his non-resistance teachings, the immediate application of which was that the usurping House of Hanover was to remain unmolested on the throne.

The truth is that both Sacheverell and his impeachers were in a hopelessly illogical and embarrassing position. The doctrine of passive obedience to rulers was both of immediate advantage to the Whigs and also had historically been the Protestant standpoint against the claims of the Papacy.

Harcourt and Phipps, Sacheverell's counsel, had no difficulty in bringing forward an impressive array of authorities which every Whig must defer to, to support the Doctor's pulpit assertions. Nor was it easy to praise the Revolution of 1688 on general principles without seeming to apologize for the Great Rebellion, a thing which was not done outside calves'-head clubs and republican coteries. The Commonwealth was called by Burnet a "blackest usurpation," and, speaking for Sacheverell's condemnation, he spoke of the "barbarous effusion of the royal blood of that Blessed King," whom another Whig prelate on the same occasion spoke of as "that pious Prince and now glorious Saint in heaven." It was easy, therefore, for Sacheverell to put his opponents in a very awkward position. On the other hand, the high-flying Doctor did not fly high enough for consistency The "principles of the Glorious Revolution"—which Queen Victoria never could persuade Lord John Russell to leave out of his speeches and letters to her—were not Tory principles. And though Anne might be glorified—as by Atterbury—under the name of "the inheritress of the blessed Martyr's crown and piety," whose right it was sacrilege to question, a German boor, who could not speak a word of English and very much disliked the Church of England, was, under the Act of Settlement, her undoubted heir.

Blatant as Sacheverell was, his apprehensions of the consequences to religion of a permanent Whig and Latitudinarian ascendency were both sincere and well founded. In that same year, 1709, the pious and grave Beveridge declared that "the doctrine and discipline of our Church is exploded, and our holy religion become a name which is everywhere spoken against."[1] Archbishop Wake, who spoke strongly against Sacheverell and opposed the Schism Bill of 1714 in the Lords, said solemnly after the accession of the House of Hanover :— "Some of our Bishops are labouring to pull down the Church

[1] *Private Thoughts.* Preface.

in which they minister, and to introduce such licentiousness as would overflow the grace of the Holy Spirit, the Divinity of Christ, and all fundamental articles of religion." It was his clear prevision of what the Hanoverian régime must mean for a Church claiming a Catholic and Apostolic character which explains the development of Atterbury himself from an exponent of the principles of 1688 into the arch-conspirator of exiled Jacobitism. In 1705 the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament rejected a proposed resolution that " the Church is in danger," and a royal proclamation declared that the Church was in " a most safe and flourishing condition."

In the subjoined sermon, " crafty insidiousness of modern Volpones " is an allusion, of course, to Godolphin, who inspired the foolish impeachment. It was impossible to punish Sacheverell on the grounds of his general argument. As Dr. Beeching epigrammatically puts it, " Sacheverell's crime was really that he had had the bad taste to preach on the 5th of November a doctrine which the House of Commons was accustomed to listen to only on the 30th of January."

Perils among False Brethren

In peril among false brethren.—2 Corinthians xi, 26.

Among all the most dreadful plots that ever threatened this Church and Kingdom, the dismal tragedy contriv'd as this day to be executed on both may justly claim the horrible precedence, and consequently the highest expressions of our gratitude for so astonishing and miraculous a deliverance from it. Doubtless 'tis as much our duty as interest to keep up the annual celebration of this never-to-be-forgotten festival. For that the very face and shadow of our Church and Constitution is yet surviving; that this good and pious relick of the Royal Family sits now happily upon the throne of her great ancestors; that our hierarchy and nobility was not finally extirpated and cut off; that our country was not made an *Aceldama*, a Field of Blood, and a receptacle of usurping robbers; that we yet, without slavery, superstition or idolatry, enjoy the benefit of our excellent Laws, and most

holy profession undefil'd ; in a word, that God has yet vouchsaf'd us this opportunity of coming into his presence, to acknowledge these inestimable blessings ; is owing to his mercy so signally shewn to us, in disappointing the barbarous massacre intended this day. A day ! which ought to stand for ever in the English Kalendar, as an eternal æra at the one end, as the thirtieth of January at the other, for indelible monuments of the irreconcileable rage and bloodthirstiness of both the Popish and fanatick enemies of our Church and Government ! For these are equally such treacherous False Brethren, and from whom we must always expect the utmost perils, and against whom we can never sufficiently arm ourselves.

Now as persecution and affliction were the distinguishing badges of the Messiah, so was His Church to expect no better treatment than her great Founder and Original, to pass through the same fiery trial, to be made perfect through sufferings. Not only to encounter the open fury and violence of her profess'd and inveterate enemies, but (which was the bitterest part of her sufferings) like her Saviour, to be betray'd, and perfidiously given up by her own false-hearted and insidious Apostles.

As the histories of the Church in all ages are, as 'twere, but one continued ratification of this melancholy truth, made up of so many mournful narratives of the unhappy lives and disastrous deaths of Saints, Martyrs and Confessors, who bravely seal'd the Faith with their Blood ; so it is exemplify'd in no one instance more than in that primitive and heroick champion of Christianity, the authour of this Epistle. Wherein, for the wonder and emulation of posterity, he has recorded a long and frightful catalogue of those astonishing calamities he had underwent in the propagation of the Gospel. In this rhetorical abridgement of the sufferings and dangers of his life, there's a very observable gradation ; the Apostle still rises in his calamities, and puts this last as the highest perfection of his misery, as that which made the deepest impression upon his passions, and what he bore with the greatest resentment and difficulty. The many severe pains and tortures inflicted on his body were nothing to this ; nay, the good-nature and mercy of highway-men, and pagans, and even the devouring bosom of the deep, were to be preferr'd before, and sooner (it seems) to be trusted to, than the more certainly

destructive and fallacious bosom of a treacherous False Brother.

I. Men may in three respects be termed guilty of False Brotherhood.

1. *First,* with relation to God, the Church, or Religion, in which they hold not faith or communion.

2. *Secondly,* with relation to the State, Government or Society of which they are members.

3. *Thirdly,* with relation to those private persons, with whom they have either friendship, correspondence or dealing.

1. And *first,* he is a False Brother, with relation to God, religion, or the Church in which he holds communion, that believes, maintains or propagates any false or heterodox tenet or doctrine, repugnant to the express declarations of Scripture, and the decrees, or sense, of the Church and antiquity thereupon. If a man should dare not only to revive, [? but] to justifie any execrable, exploded heresies, as those of Arrius and Nestorius, or expound any of the articles of our Faith in such a loose and vagrant way as may suit 'em as well to a Mahometan's as a Christian's creed, and to lay open all those sacred boundaries of the Church to let in all sectarists and schismaticks, of whatsoever wild, romantick or enthusiastick notions, so as to make the House of God, not only a den of thieves, but a receptacle of legions of Devils : Should we cover such a false Apostle under the sacred umbrage of a true church-man ? In short, whosoever presumes to recede the least tittle from the express word of God, or to explain the great *credenda* of our Faith in new-fangl'd terms of modern philosophy, is false both to his God and his religion, and shall be called hereafter the least in the Kingdom of Heaven, how great soever he may be in the kingdoms here below. And as a man may thus betray the doctrine of his Church, so is he no less false to its interest, that gives up any point of her discipline and worship. These are the exterior fences to guard the internals of religion, without which they are left naked, without beauty, order or defence. Should any man, out of ignorance, or prejudice to the ancient rights, and essential constitution, of the Catholick Church, affirm, that the divine apostolical institution of episcopacy is a novel doctrine, not sufficiently warranted by Scripture, and that 'tis

indifferent whether the Church is governed by Bishops or Presbyters, is not such an apostate from his own Orders? Let the Christian world be judge, who best deserve the name of church-men, those that strictly defend and maintain the Catholick doctrines, upon which the Church, as a society, is founded, or those who would barter them for a mungril-union of all sects? Those who zealously support her mission, which only can support her, or those who would destroy it, to take in schismatical presbyters without episcopal ordination, which would unchurch the very Church, and annihilate her constitution? Is this the spirit and doctrine of our Holy Mother, to assert separation from her communion to be no schism; or if it was, that schism is no damnable sin; that occasional conformity is no hypocrisy, but rather for the benefit of the Church; that any one may be an occasional conformist with schismaticks, and yet not guilty of schism; that a Christian may serve God in any way or congregation of worship, as well by extemporary prayers as by a prescrib'd form and Liturgy; that conformity to the Church and ecclesiastical authority are no parts of morality and a good life, which are only necessary to Salvation; that the orders and ceremonies of the Church are only carnal, arbitrary ordinances, to be dispens'd with as men please, both by clergy and laity; that the censures and excommunications of the Church are mere *bruta fulmina;* canonical obedience and absolution spiritual tyranny and usurpation; and in a word, that the whole body of the worship and discipline of the Church of England, is nothing else but priestcraft and popery in masquerade? If upon all occasions to comply with the dissenters, both in publick and private affairs, as persons of tender conscience and piety, to promote their interests in elections, to sneak to 'em for places and preferment, to defend toleration and liberty of conscience, and, under the pretence of moderation, to excuse their separation, and lay the fault upon the true sons of the Church for carrying matters too high; if to court the fanaticks in private, and to hear 'em with patience, if not approbation, rail at and blaspheme the Church, and upon occasion to justifie the King's murder; if to flatter both the dead and the living in their vices, and to tell the world that, if they have wit and money enough, they need no repentance, and that only fools and beggars can be damn'd; if these, I say, are the modish and

fashionable criterions of a true churchman, God deliver us from all such False Brethren.

There is another sort of them who are for a neutrality in religion, who really are of none, but are a secret sort of reserv'd Atheists, who always pretend to be of the Church, join in the herd, and will sometimes frequent our publick Communion, as long as the Government appears on our side; but if any thing is to be got by it, can with as safe a conscience slide privately into a conventicle, and look as demure as the slyest saint amongst 'em. They are equally of all, and of no, communion; they are the Gallio's that care for none of these things; they tell us they are for the religion establish'd by law, but no longer than 'tis so; they can see neither sin nor danger in that ecclesiastical bugbear, as they call schism, yet talk very loud about union, comprehension and moderation. But there is another sort of False Brethren, who set up for a greater perfection of piety than their neighbours, who like their originals, the Pharisees in the Gospel, are always pleading their merits before God and the World, with an ostentation of sanctity, in comparison with their prophane brethren, with a Stand off, for I am holier than thou! These are the saints, that under the pretence of conscience shall commit the most abominable impieties, and justify murder, sacrilege and rebellion by texts of Scripture. There are yet another sort of False Brethren, of a quite opposite character to these, who wish well to the Church of England, and really believe her constitution in doctrine, discipline and worship the best and purest in the Christian world, and, when either their tongues, hands or purses are wanting in her defence, are ready to sacrifice their persons and estates in her vindication. These indeed are noble qualifications, and 'tis pity so good a character should want any thing to compleat it. And to turn the words of our Blessed Saviour to the rich man, yet one thing thou lackest, thy zeal is to be shewn in, as well as for, the communion of the Church, in obeying her precepts, as well as defending her rights. In all these cases there is a serious and deliberate act of treachery against conscience and conviction, a base forfeiture of that spiritual allegiance we owe to God, and our Church, as a sacred Body and fraternity, that ought to preserve inviolable unity, professing one faith, one baptism, one God and Saviour of us all.

2. But secondly, men may be denominated False Brethren, with relation to the State, Government or Society of which they are members. The constitutions of most governments differing according to their several frames and laws, upon which they are built and founded, it is impossible to lay down any one universal rule, as the scheme and measure of obedience, that may square to every one of them. Only this maxim in general, I presume, may be establish'd for the safety, tranquility, and support of all governments, that no innovation what soever should be allow'd in the fundamental constitution of any state, without a very pressing, nay, unavoidable, necessity for it; and whosoever singly or in a private capacity should attempt it, is guilty of the highest misdemeanour, and is an enemy to that politick body of which he is a member. To apply this maxim to our government, in which the truth of it will very evidently appear. Our constitution both in Church and State has been so admirably contriv'd, with that wisdom, weight and sagacity, and the temper and genius of each so exactly suited and modell'd to the mutual support and assistance of one another, that 'tis hard to say whether the doctrines of the Church of England contribute more to authorize and enforce our civil laws, or our laws to maintain and defend the doctrines of our Church. The natures of both are so nicely correspondent, and so happily intermixt, that it is almost impossible to offer a violation to the one without breaking in upon the body of the other. So that in all those cases before mentioned, whosoever presumes to innovate, alter or misrepresent any point in the articles of the faith of our Church, ought to be arraign'd as a traitor to our State; heterodoxy in the doctrines of the one naturally producing, and almost necessarily inferring, rebellion, and high treason in the other, and consequently a crime that concerns the civil magistrate as much to punish, and restrain, as the ecclesiastical. However this assertion at first may look an high flown paradox, the proof of it will fully appear in a few instances. The grand security of our government, and the very pillar upon which it stands, is founded upon the steady belief of the subject's obligation to an absolute and unconditional obedience to the Supreme Power, in all things lawful, and the utter illegality of resistance upon any pretence whatsoever. But this fundamental doctrine, notwithstanding its divine sanction in the

express command of God in Scripture, and without which it is impossible any government of any kind, or denomination in the world, should subsist with safety, and which has been so long the honourable and distinguishing characteristick of our Church, is now, it seems, quite exploded, and ridicul'd out of countenance, as an unfashionable, superannuated, nay dangerous tenet, utterly inconsistent with the right, liberty and property of the people; who, as our new preachers and new politicians teach us, have the power invested in them, the fountain and original of it, to cancel their allegiance at pleasure, and call their sovereign to account for high treason against his supreme subjects, forsooth; nay to dethrone and murder him for a criminal, as they did the Royal Martyr by a judiciary sentence. And, what is almost incredible, they presume to make their court to their prince by maintaining such anti-monarchical schemes. But, God be thanked! neither the constitution of our Church or State is so far alter'd but that by the laws of both (still in force and which I hope for ever will be) these damnable positions, let 'em come either from Rome or Geneva, from the Pulpit or the Press, are condemned for rebellion and high treason. Our adversaries think they effectually stop our mouths, and have us sure and unanswerable on this point, when they urge the Revolution of this day in their defence. But certainly they are the greatest enemies of that, and his late Majesty, and the most ungrateful for the deliverance, who endeavour to cast such black and odious colours upon both. How often must they be told that the King himself solemnly disclaimed the least imputation of resistance in his declaration; and that the Parliament declar'd, that they set the Crown on his head upon no other title but that of the vacancy of the Throne? And did they not unanimously condemn to the flames (as it justly deserv'd) that infamous libel, that would have pleaded the title of conquest, by which resistance was supported? So tender were they of the regal rights, and so averse to infringe the least tittle of our constitution! We see how ready these incendiaries are to take the least umbrage, to charge their own cursed tenets on the Church of England, to derive their guile upon it, and quit scores with it for their iniquity! Thus do they endeavour to draw comparisons, and to justify the horrid actions and principles of Forty-one, which have been of late years, to the scandal of our Church, and

Nation, so publickly defended, not only by the agents and writers of the republican faction, but by some that have the confidence to style themselves sons and Presbyters of the Church of England. They dare not yet maintain rebellion by its proper name. Yet, if those silly pretences, and weak excuses for it alledg'd, carry any strength or reason in them at all, they will equally serve to justify all the rebellions that ever were or can be committed in the world. Now as the republicans copy after the papists in most of their doctrines and practices, I would fain know in this where the difference lies betwixt the power granted to (as 'tis supposed originally invested, but from what commission God knows, in) the people, to judge and dethrone their Sovereigns, for any cause they think fit, or a no less usurped power of the Pope to solve the people from their allegiance, and dispose of scepters and diadems to his favourites, whenever he thinks it his interest to pluck them from his enemies heads. Comparisons are generally odious ; but a learned Bishop of our Kingdom, whose aversion to Popery, I hope, is not doubted, I mean the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of *Sarum*,[1] has been bold judiciously to determin, even on the Papists' side in this case, that if such a deposing power is to be intrusted in mortal hands, less inconveniences will ensure in placing it in one than in many, though God forbid it ever should be lodg'd in any other than that of God himself, the Original of all power, from whom it proceeds, and to whom it must return, the King of Kings, Lord of Lords, and only Ruler of Princes. Else a prince indeed in another sense will be the breath of his subjects nostrils, to be blown in, or out, at their caprice and pleasure, and a worse vassal than even the meanest of his Guards. Such villainous and seditious principles as these demand a confutation from that government they so insolently threaten and arraign, and which are only proper to be answer'd by that sword they would make our Princes bear in vain, by the so-long-called-for censure of an ecclesiastical Synod, and the correction of a provok'd and affronted Legislature ; to whose strict justice, and undeserv'd mercy, I commit both them and their authors. Only give me leave to dismiss 'em with a remark of the pious and learned Bishop *Andrews* upon some of their False Brethren in his time. " What (says that good prelate) is now become

[1] Gilbert Burnet.

of those Words of God, Touch not mine Anointed? Are we not fallen into strange times, that men dare thus print and publish, yea, even preach and proclaim, their sins, even those sinful and shameless positions, to the eyes and ears of the whole world? Whereby God's Anointed are endanger'd, mens souls are poyson'd, Christian Religion is blasphem'd as a murtherer of her own Kings, God in his charge is openly contradicted, and men made believe they shall go to Heaven in breaking God's commandments." What could have been spoken with a more prophetical spirit? These False Brethren in our Government do not singly and in private spread their poyson, but (what is lamentable to be spoken) are suffer'd to combine into bodies and seminaries, wherein atheism, deism, tritheism, Socinianism, with all the hellish principles of fanaticism, regicide and anarchy, are openly profess'd and taught, to corrupt and debauch the youth of the nation, in all parts of it, down to posterity, to the present reproach and future extirpation of our laws and religion. Certainly the Toleration was never intended to indulge and cherish such monsters and vipers in our bosom, that scatter their pestilence at noon-day, and will rend, distract and confound the firmest and best settl'd constitution in the World. In short, as the English Government can never be secure on any other principles but strictly those of the Church of England, so I will be bold to say, where any part of it is trusted in persons of any other nations, they must be false to themselves, if they are true to their trusts; or if they are true to their opinions and interests, must betray that government they are enemies to upon principle. Indeed, we must do 'em that justice to confess that, since the sectarists have found out a way (which their forefathers, God knows, as wicked as they were, would have abhorr'd) to swallow not only oaths but sacraments, to qualifie themselves to get into places and preferments, these sanctify'd hypocrites can put on a shew of loyalty, and seem tolerably easy in the Government, if they can engross the honours and profits of it. But let her Majesty reach out her little finger to touch their loyns, and these sworn adversaries to passive obedience and the Royal Family shall fret themselves, and curse their Queen and their God, and shall look upwards. And so much for our political False Brethren, till I come to speak with 'em again by and by. I proceed.

1. And first, as to the Church. But here it is very necessary to premise that by the Church of England we are to understand the true genuine notion of it, as it stands contra-distinguish'd in its establish'd doctrine, discipline and worship from all other churches and schismaticks, who would obtrude upon us a wild, negative idea of a National Church, so as to incorporate themselves into the body, as true members of it. Whereas 'tis evident that this latitudinarian, heterogeneous mixture of all persons, of what different faith soever, uniting in Protestancy, (which is but one single note of the Church of England) would render it the most absurd, contradictory and self-inconsistent body in the world. This spurious and villainous notion, which will take in Jews, Quakers, Mahometans, and anything as well as Christians, as ridiculously incongruous as 'tis, may be first observ'd as one of those prime, popular engines our False Brethren have made use of to undermine the very essential constitution of our Church. But such is her hard fortune, her worst adversaries must be let into her bowels, under the holy umbrage of sons. But since this model of an universal liberty and coalition fail'd, and these false Brethren could not carry the conventicle into the Church, they are now resolv'd to bring the Church into the conventicles, which will more plausibly and slily effect her ruin. What could not be gain'd by comprehension and toleration, must be brought about by moderation and occasional conformity. Thus our False Brethren, as the Jews did our Blessed Saviour, crucify the Church betwixt thieves ; and as they committed that execrable villainy under a pretended fear lest the Romans should come and take away their place and nation, which by that very fact they brought upon themselves : so these men, out of a fictitious fear lest the modern Romans should come and destroy our Church, are working that ruin they pretend to avoid, and, under a false zeal of keeping out popery, are themselves infallibly bringing in that very popery into our Kingdom with which they so falsely and ungratefully endeavour to attaint the Church of England, the greatest bulwark, and only safeguard against popery in the whole world !

2. That the old leaven of their forefathers is still working in their present generation, and that this traditional poyson still remains in this brood of vipers, to sting us to death, is sufficiently visible from the dangerous encroachments they

now make upon our government, and the treasonable reflexions they have publish'd on her Majesty, God bless her! whose hereditary rights to the throne they have had the impudence to deny and cancel, to make her a creature of their own power, and that by the same principles they plac'd a crown upon her, they tell us, they (that is, the Mob) may reassume it at their pleasure. Nay, now they have advanc'd themselves from the religious liberty our gracious Sovereign has indulg'd them to claim a civil right, as they term it, and to justle the Church out of her establishment, by hoisting their toleration into its place. Have they not, ever since their first unhappy plantation in this kingdom, by the intercession of that false son of the Church, Bishop *Grindall*, always improv'd and rise[n] upon their demands in the permission of the Government? Insomuch that Queen *Elizabeth*, that was deluded by that perfidious prelate to the toleration of the Genevian discipline, found it such an headstrong and encroaching monster, that in eight years she foresaw it would endanger the monarchy, as well as the hierarchy; and like a Queen of true resolution, and pious zeal for both, pronounc'd that "such were the restless spirits of that factious people, that no quiet was to be expected from them, till they were utterly suppress'd": which, like a prudent princess, she did by wholesome severities, that the crown for many years sat easy and flourishing on her head. And had her successor, King *James*, but follow'd her wise politicks, his Son had never fall'n a martyr to their fury, nor any of his unhappy Offspring suffer'd those disastrous calamities which made the Royal Family one continu'd sacrifice to their malice. I would not here be misunderstood, as if I intended to cast the least invidious reflexion upon that indulgence the Government has condescended to give 'em, which I am sure all those that wish well to our Church are very ready to grant to consciences truly scrupulous; let them enjoy it in the full limits the law has prescrib'd. But let them also move within their proper sphere, and not grow eccentrick, and, like comets that burst their orb, threaten the ruin and downfall of our Church and State. Indeed they tell us they have relinquish'd the Principles, as well as the Sins, of their forefathers. If so, why do they not renounce their schism, and come sincerely into our Church? Why do they pelt her with more blasphemous libels, and

scurrilous lampoons, than were ever publish'd in Oliver's usurpation? Have they not lately villainously divided us with knavish distinctions of High and Low Church men? Are not the best characters they can give us those of Papists, Jacobites and Conspirators? When Elisha, the great prophet of God, was surrounded with an host of enemies, that sought for his life, his blind servant beheld not the peril his master was in, till his eyes were open'd by miracle, and he found himself in the midst of horses and chariots of fire. I pray God we may be out of danger; but we may remember the King's person was voted to be so, at the same time that his murtherers were conspiring his death. I entreat your patience,

III. Briefly to set forth the hainous malignity, enormous guile, and folly of this prodigious sin of False Brotherhood.

In what moving and lively colours does the holy Psalmist point out the crafty insidiousness of such wilely Volpones! *Wickedness* (says he) *is therein, deceit and guile go not out of their streets. For it is not an open enemy that has done me this dishonour, for then I could have borne it; neither was it mine adversary that did magnify himself against me, for then peradventure I would have hid myself from him. But it was even thou! my companion, my guide, and mine own familiar friend. We took sweet counsel together, and walked in the House of God as friends. There is no faithfulness in their mouths, their inward parts are very wickedness, their throats are open sepulchers, and their words are smoother than oil, yet be they very swords.* Like Joab, they pretend to speak peaceably, and smite us mortally under the fifth rib.

IV. And indeed it would be both for our advantage, as well as their credit, if such men would throw off the mask, entirely quit our Church, of which they are no true members, and not fraudulently eat her bread, and lay wait for her ruin, purloin her revenues, and ungratefully lift up their heels against her. For then we should be one fold under one Shepherd, all those invidious distinctions that now distract and confound us lost, and we should be terrible like an army with banners to our enemies, who could never break in upon such an uniform and well-compacted body. This indeed would be a true peace and solid union, when we should all with one mind and one mouth glorify God, and not with a confus'd diversity of contradictious opinions, and inconsistent jargon of worship,

which the God of peace, purity, and order cannot but abhor.

Let us therefore, as we are unhappily sharers of St. Paul's misfortunes, to have our Church in perils among False Brethren, follow his example, and conduct in a parallel case. [*Gal.* ii.] And yet if our dissenters had liv'd in those times, they would have branded him as an intemperate, hot, furious zealot, that wanted to be sweetened by the gentle spirit of charity, and moderation. *Let us therefore have no fellowship with these works of darkness, but rather reprove them.* Let our superior pastors do their duty in thundering out their ecclesiastical anathema's, and let any power on earth dare reverse a sentence ratify'd in Heaven. Let us therefore, being well assur'd how much our cause deserves, and how much at present it requires, our bravest resolutions, hold fast our integrity and religion without wavering, and earnestly contend for the Faith which was once delivered unto the Saints. And let us trust in that gracious Providence which so miraculously deliver'd our Church on this day, that tho' she lies *bleeding of the wounds she has received in the house of her friends* (*Lam.* 2. 2, 4), tho' *the ways of Zion may mourn* for a time, and her *gates be desolate, her priests sigh and she in bitterness,* because *her adversaries are chief and her enemies* at present *prosper; tho' among all her lovers she has few to comfort her, and many of her friends have dealt treacherously with her,* and are become her *enemies* (*Zech.* 13. 6); tho' *there are few to guide her among all the sons whom she hath brought forth, neither are there many that take her by the hand, of all the sons that she hath brought up* (*Isai.* 51. 18); tho' her enemies cry, *Down with her, down with her, even to the ground;* yet there is a God that can, and will, raise her up, if we forsake her not. Let us not therefore ungratefully contribute to her destruction, but let us *continue steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as we know that our labour will not be in vain in the Lord* (1 *Cor.* 15. 58). Now, *the God of all grace, who hath called us to his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, after that ye have suffer'd a while, make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you* (1 *Pet.* 5. 10. 11). To Him be glory, and dominion, for ever and ever, Amen.

BENJAMIN HOADLY (1676-1761)

HOADLY is yet another, and unlovelier, type of the political ecclesiastic. When on December 14, 1709, the Commons voted the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell, they at the same time resolved: "That the Reverend Mr. *Benjamin Hoadley*, Rector of St. *Peters Poor, London*, for having often strenuously justify'd the principles on which Her Majesty and the Nation proceeded in the late happy Revolution, hath justly merited the Favour and Recommendation of this House." Accordingly there was carried a humble address to the Queen, praying that "She will be graciously pleased to bestow some Dignity in the Church on the said Mr. *Hoadley*, for his eminent Services both to Church and State." The reference was especially to a sermon—censured by the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation—called "The Measures of Obedience," in defence of the principles of 1688, and to Hoadly's attack on an episcopal discourse which the Queen had commanded to be printed. The triumph of Sacheverell put the ablest of the Whig writers for some years into the background. But at Anne's death Hoadly began to bask in official sunshine, and the adulatory language which he used towards the new Sovereign, together with his tried abilities and convictions—which seem to have been quite sincere—procured him in 1715 the see of Bangor, soon to give its name to the great Bangorian controversy. The Scottish rising took place that year.

The sermon here printed had for its result the silencing of the synodical voice of the Church for 135 years, and the conversion of the priesthood for two reigns into a nidus of latent Jacobitism. Atterbury, Hoadly's old antagonist, it turned from a 1688 Tory into the leader of the open Jacobites. It was preached at Court on March 31, 1717, the subject being "The

Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ," and was afterwards printed by command of George I, who is said to have suggested the subject. It was a sequel to a popular treatise of the previous year, entitled " A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors in Church and State." As soon as the sermon was published, the Nether House of Convocation sent up to the Bishops a *gravamen* and *articulus cleri*, representing that the tendency of the Bishop of Bangor's teachings was to " subvert all government and discipline in the Church of Christ, and to reduce His Kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion " ; also, " to impugn and impeach the Regal Supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and the authority of the Legislature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions."

The Upper House, notwithstanding its ministerial sympathies, would have been forced to censure the sermon had not the Government hurriedly advised the Crown to prorogue the Convocation, which, in spite of the prolonged strife between the two Houses, respectively Low Church and High Church, was just settling down to useful and practical work. Convocation was never thereafter suffered to meet for the transaction of business till the Tractarian movement brought about its revival in 1854. Yet it is extremely doubtful whether the clergy, when formally called together in the ancient manner by the Metropolitans, could have been stopped from discussing anything they pleased, as long as they did not proceed to enact and promulge canons. However, from 1717 dated a century and a half of Erastianism and of the stifling of the spiritual life of the Church. Of Hoadly's immediate opponents, Sherlock, Hare, Snape and Mosse were deprived of their Court chaplaincies. The Bishop himself was translated successively to the sees of Hereford, Salisbury—given to him as a reward for his influence in procuring Atterbury's sentence —and Winchester. Yet he was almost avowedly an Arian and a disciple of Clarke. His private life was free from scandal,

but, during the six years that he enjoyed the revenues of the see of Bangor, he never once set foot in his diocese. Hoadly in fact is the typical representative of Hanoverian sadduceism —what Secker called " Christianity *secundum usum Winton* " —as his nonjuring antagonist, William Law, stands for a fervid, but intellectual, spirituality. Of course, the Bishop was a nepotist. Few were not.

The " Low Church " or " Latitudinarian " party—to use the convenient names which had already come into accepted use two centuries ago—had nothing evangelical about it, and, when the Evangelical revival arose, bitterly opposed it. Whitefield declared that the Tillotsonian school had always been Mahometan. Its " breadth of view " was of a frigid and earthly type, very alien from the dreamy and mystical indefiniteness of those " latitude-men " of the Stuart period, the Cambridge Platonists. Sacheverell's alarm as to the consequences of a Whig triumph in Church and State, however intemperately expressed, were not exaggerated. When this divine, in the year 1712, preached in Lichfield Cathedral, little Samuel Johnson, who had been born about the date of the delivery of the condemned sermon in 1709, sat perched on the shoulders of his father, who declared he " believed the child had caught the publick zeal for Sacheverell, and would have stayed for ever in the Church, satisfied with beholding him." The boy lived to be singular as a worshipper and humble believer in the age of Voltaire. In the mid-century the judicial Blackstone, after hearing every clergyman of note in London, stated that he " did not hear a single discourse having more Christianity in it than the writings of Cicero, and that it would have been impossible to discover whether the preacher were a follower of Mahomet, of Confucius or of Christ." Meanwhile the ecclesiastical policy of Walpole had been directed to the suppression of any supernatural claim or consciousness in the Church, and its steady subjugation to Parliament. Before Anne's death there had been hope of the creation of an

episcopate for America, and other plans of spiritual extension were on foot, but the accession of the House of Hanover quenched everything ghostly.

Hoadly's famous sermon, then, must be read in the context of the times and of his own lifelong teachings. It was the official challenge of the new dynasty and the new era to the doctrine of the organic, historic Church, Divine but Visible. At first sight there may seem little in Hoadly's teaching which is not part of the commonplaces, challenged only by a few daring spirits, of our own day. As the champion of civic toleration, of the sovereignty of the individual conscience against authority, of sincerity as the one thing in religion that matters—a thesis which Whitefield afterwards denounced as soul-damning, and which Law smashed most trenchantly in his three *Letters to the Bishop of Bangor*—Hoadly may be regarded merely as a pioneer of individualist Liberalism. Yet he was no more consistent than other prophets of the same creed have been. The doctrine of State neutrality in religion—which Christianity has never regarded as an ideal but only as the necessity of a divided nation—he combined with a highly Erastian view of the right of George I to de-Catholicize the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. His demonstration that authority has no place in matters of faith against private judgment is forcible and telling, but he does not see that the argument holds good against deference to Holy Scripture or to the direct teaching of Christ Himself. In the sermon the principal topic is the denial of a legislative and judicial authority residing in the Church. Convocation justly condemned such a position, as intolerable in a prelate of the Church of England, which in a hundred ways claims for the Divine Society a disciplinary and interpretative office, under Christ. In Hoadly's voluminous replies to his voluminous critics he merely evades the issue. He keeps on repeating that he and they are Protestants —a name which Convocation after the Revolution had been somewhat loth to accept—and that private judgment is the

root principle of Protestantism. He asks what the Reformation was but a rejection of papal authority, and with what consistency *un révolté* can *prêcher l'obéissance.* He challenged the High Church clergy to say why, if submissive non-resistance was due to the King, it was not due from them to the Episcopate. Atterbury, however, turns the matter round in the remark that Hoadly " charged the clergy with rebellion in the Church while he himself preached it up in the State." Hoadly manages the *ad hominem* argument very skilfully. But he never really grapples with the issue between him and his brother clergy. An example of his method of reply is in dealing with the statement of Article XX that " the Church hath authority in controversies of faith." The Church, he says, means all faithful people, who are hereby required to examine the Scriptures for themselves, to determine their own beliefs.

Hoadly pointed out that his sermon had not dealt with the powers of the Visible Church. But there is little sense in denying hierarchical pretensions on the part of an Invisible Church. He also said that he had only denied an " absolute " vicegerency in the Church for Christ, binding Christians " indispensably " to obedience—it was alleged, however, that these words were not in the first draft of the sermon. But the argument was in that case but a string of truisms. No one, at any rate in the Church of England, maintained that absolute powers were conveyed by the commission, " Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth," etc., " As my Father hath sent (apostled) me, even so send I you " ; or " He that rejecteth you rejecteth me." The nature of positive law, whether ecclesiastical or other, had been set forth in the closing sixteenth century by the massive genius of Hooker.

At the beginning of a sermon on the same text as Hoadly's —" My Kingdom is not of this world "—Mozley finely remarks that this text " has, as it were, looked at the Church ever since the Church was founded, like an eye fixed upon her, from which

she cannot escape." But it is seldom observed that the words were written not in English but in Greek, and that the preposition " of " (ἐκ) expresses not the character of the Kingdom or Monarchy of Christ, but its origin and the source of its commission—" My Kingdom is not from hence." Christianity is not a vestal star moving detached and lonely among the systems of the world. The Son of God became incarnate that He might regenerate and consecrate all human society, and not least the Family and the State, bringing the kingdoms of this world into His empire. The remembrance that that empire is not " from hence " should always be with the Church to save her from the temptation of relying upon carnal weapons and worldly methods. But God's universe does not fall into compartments quite as simply as the modern mind, accustomed to the loss of life's unity, is apt to suppose. Gospel discipline involves some coaction, and no corporate recognition of religion by the State is possible without some abridgement of liberty.

The Nature of Christ's Kingdom

Jesus answered, My Kingdom is not of this world.—St. John xviii, 36.

One of those great effects which length of time is seen to bring along with it is the alteration of the meaning annexed to certain sounds. This evil, when it hath once invaded the most sacred and important subjects, ought, in duty, to be resisted with a more open and undisguised zeal as what toucheth the very vitals of all that is good, and is just going to take from men's eyes the boundaries of right and wrong.

The only cure for this evil, in cases of so great concern, is to have recourse to the originals of things: to the law of reason, in those points which can be traced back thither; and to the declarations of Jesus Christ, and his immediate followers, in such matters as took their rise solely from those declarations. For the case is plainly this, that words and sounds have had such an effect (not upon the nature of things, which is unmoveable, but) upon the minds of men in thinking of them, that the very same word remaining (which at first represented one certain thing), by having multitudes of new

inconsistent ideas, in every age and every year, added to it, becomes itself the greatest hindrance to the true understanding of the nature of the thing first intended by it.

For instance, religion, in St. James's days, was virtue and integrity as to ourselves, and charity and beneficence to others, before God, even the Father. *James* i, 27. By degrees, it has come to signify, in most of the countries throughout the whole world, the performance of everything, almost, except virtue and charity; and particularly, a punctual exactness in a regard to particular times, places, forms and modes, diversified according to the various humours of men; recommended and practised under the avowed name of external religion: two words, which, in the sense fixed upon them by many Christians, God hath put asunder, and which therefore no man should join together. And accordingly, the notion of a religious man differs in every country, just as much as times, places, ceremonies, imaginary austerities, and all other outward circumstances, are different and various: whereas in truth, though a man, truly religious in other respects, may make use of such things, yet they cannot be the least part of his religion, properly so called, any more than his food, or his raiment, or any other circumstance of his life.

Thus likewise, the worship of God, to be paid by Christians, was, in our Saviour's time, and in his own plain words, the worship of the Father in spirit and truth. But the notion of it is become quite another thing; and in many Christian countries that which still retains the name of the worship of God is indeed the neglect and the diminution of the Father, and the worship of other beings besides, and more than, the Father. And this performed in such a manner as that any indifferent spectator would conclude that neither the consciences nor understandings of men, neither spirit nor truth, were at all concerned in the matter; or rather, that they had been banished from it by an express command. In the mean time, the word, or sound, still remains the same in discourse. The whole lump is indigested and inconsistent notions and practices. Again,

Prayer, in all our Lord's directions about it, and particularly in that form which he himself taught his followers, was a calm, undisturbed address to God, under the notion of a Father, expressing those sentiments and wishes before him

which every sincere mind ought to have. But the same word, by the help of men and voluminous rules of art, is come to signify heat and flame, in such a manner, and to such a degree, that a man may be in the best disposition in the world and yet not be devout enough to pray. And many an honest person hath been perplexed by this means with doubts and fears of being incapable of praying, for want of an intenseness of heat, which hath no more relation to the duty than a man's being in a fever hath to the sincerity of his professions, or addresses to any earthly prince.

Once more, the love of God and of our Saviour was at first, in his own words, and those of St. John, many times repeated, the keeping his commandments, or doing his will. *John* xiv, 15, 21, 23; xv, 10. 1 *John* ii, 5; v, 3, 4. 2 *John* vi. But the notion of it was, it seems, left very jejune; and so hath been improved by his later followers, till the same name, still kept up in the language of Christians, is far removed from the thing principally and first intended, and is come by degrees to signify a violent passion, commotion and ecstasy, venting itself in such sort of expressions and disorders as other passions do; and this regulated and defined by such a variety of imaginations that an ordinary Christian, with the utmost sincerity in his heart, is filled with nothing but eternal suspicions, doubts and perplexities whether he hath anything of the true love of God or not.

I have mentioned these particulars, not only to show the evil itself, and to how great a degree the nature of things hath suffered in the opinions of men by the alteration of the sense of the same words and sounds, but to give you occasion to observe that there can be no cure for it, in Christians, but to go back to the New Testament itself; because there alone we shall find the original intention of such words, or the nature of the things designed to be signified by them, declared and fixed by our Lord, or his Apostles from him, by some such marks as may, if we will attend to them, guide and guard us in our notions of those matters, in which we are most of all concerned.

It is with this view that I have chosen those words in which our Lord himself declared the nature of his own Kingdom. This Kingdom of Christ is the same with the Church of Christ. And the notion of the Church of Christ, which, at first, was only

the number, small or great, of those who believed him to be the Messiah, or of those who subjected themselves to him, as their King, in the affair of religion, having since that time been so diversified by the various alterations it hath undergone that it is almost impossible so much as to number up the many inconsistent images that have come, by daily additions, to be united together in it, nothing, I think, can be more useful, than to consider the same thing, under some other image, which hath not been so much used, nor consequently so much defaced. And since the image of his kingdom is that under which our Lord himself chose to represent it: we may be sure that, if we sincerely examine our notions of his Church by what he saith of his Kingdom, that it is not of this world, we shall exclude out of it every thing that he would have excluded; and then, what remains will be true, pure, and uncorrupted. And what I have to say, in order to this, will be comprehended under two general heads.

I. As the Church of Christ is the Kingdom of Christ, he himself is King: and in this it is implied that he is himself the sole law-giver to his subjects, and himself the sole judge of their behaviour, in the affairs of conscience and eternal salvation. And in this sense, therefore, his kingdom is not of this world, that he hath, in those points, left behind him no visible humane authority; no vicegerents, who can be said properly to supply his place; no interpreters, upon whom his subjects are absolutely to depend; no judges over the consciences or religion of his people. For if this were so, that any such absolute vicegerent authority, either for the making new laws, or interpreting old ones, or judging his subjects, in religious matters, were lodged in any men upon earth, the consequence would be that what still retains the name of the Church of Christ would not be the Kingdom of Christ, but the kingdom of those men, vested with such authority. For whoever hath such an authority of making laws is so far a king. And whoever can add new laws to those of Christ, equally obligatory, is as truly a king as Christ himself is. Nay, whoever hath an absolute authority to interpret any written or spoken laws, it is he who is truly the law-giver, to all intents and purposes, and not the person who first wrote or spoke them.

In humane society, the interpretation of laws may, of

necessity, be lodged, in some cases, in the hands of those who were not originally the legislators. But this is not absolute, nor of consequence to society : because the legislators can resume the interpretation into their own hands, as they are witnesses to what passes in the world ; and as they can, and will, sensibly interpose in all those cases in which their interposition becomes necessary. And therefore, they are still properly the legislators. But it is otherwise in religion, or the Kingdom of Christ. He himself never interposeth, since his first promulgation of his law, either to convey infallibility to such as pretend to handle it over again, or to assert the true interpretation of it, amidst the various and contradictory opinions of men about it. If he did certainly thus interpose, he himself would still be the legislator. But, as he doth not, if such an absolute authority be lodged with men, under the notion of interpreters, they then become the legislators, and not Christ ; and they rule in their own kingdom, and not in his.

It is the same thing as to rewards and punishments, to carry forward the great end of his Kingdom. If any men upon earth have a right to add to the sanctions of his laws, that is, to increase the number, or alter the nature, of the rewards and punishments of his subjects, in matters of conscience or salvation, they are so far kings in his stead, and reign in their own kingdom, and not in his. So it is, whenever they erect tribunals and exercise a judgment over the consciences of men, and assume to themselves the determination of such points as cannot be determined by one who knows the hearts ; or, when they make any of their own declarations or decisions to concern and affect the state of Christ's subjects with regard to the favour of God, this is so far the taking Christ's Kingdom out of his hands, and placing it in their own.

Nor is this matter at all made better by their declaring themselves to be vicegerents, or law-makers, or judges, under Christ, in order to carry on the ends of his kingdom. For it comes to this at last, since it doth not seem fit to Christ himself to interpose so as to prevent or remedy all their mistakes and contradictions, that, if they have this power of intepreting or adding laws, and judging men, in such a sense that Christians shall be indispensably and absolutely obliged to obey those laws, and to submit to those decisions ; I say, if they have this power lodged with them, then the kingdom in which they

rule is not the Kingdom of Christ, but of themselves ; he doth not rule in it, but they : and, whether they happen to agree with him, or differ from him, as long as they are the law-givers, and judges, without any interposition from Christ, either to guide or correct their decisions, they are kings of this kingdom, and not Christ Jesus.

II. The next principal point is that, if the Church be the Kingdom of Christ, and this kingdom be not of this world, this must appear from the nature and end of the laws of Christ, and of those rewards and punishments which are the sanctions of his laws. Now his laws are declarations relating to the favour of God in another state after this. They are declarations of those conditions to be performed in this world, on our part, without which God will not make us happy in that to come. And they are almost all general appeals to the will of that God ; to his nature, known by the common reason of mankind ; and to the imitation of that nature, which must be our perfection. The keeping his commandments is declared the way to life ; and the doing his will, the entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven. The being subjects to Christ is to this very end, that we may the better and more effectually perform the will of God. The laws of this kingdom, therefore, as Christ left them, have nothing of this world in their view ; no tendency either to the exaltation of some, in worldly pomps and dignity, or to their absolute dominion over the faith and religious conduct of others of his subject, or to the erecting of any sort of temporal kingdom, under the covert and name of a spiritual one.

The sanctions of Christ's law are rewards and punishments. But of what sort ? Not the rewards of this world ; not the offices, or glories, of this state ; not the pains of prisons, banishments, fines, or any lesser and more moderate penalties ; nay, not the much lesser discouragements that belong to humane society. He was far from thinking that these could be the instruments of such a perswasion as he thought acceptable to God. But, as the great end of his Kingdom was to guide men to happiness, after the short images of it were over here below, so he took his motives from that place where his Kingdom first began, and where it was at last to end ; from those rewards and punishments in a future state which had no relation to this world. And, to show that his Kingdom was not of

this world, all the sanctions which he thought fit to give to his laws were not of this world at all.

St. Paul understood this so well that he gives an account of his own conduct, and that of others in the same station, in these words, " Knowing the terrors of the Lord, we perswade men " : whereas, in too many Christian countries, since his days, if some, who profess to succeed him, were to give an account of their own conduct, it must be in a quite contrary strain :—Knowing the terrors of this world, and having them in our power, we do, not perswade men, but force their outward profession against their inward perswasion. And, indeed, it is too visible to be hid, that, wherever the rewards and punishments are changed from future to present, from the world to come to the world now in possession, there the Kingdom founded by our Saviour is, in the nature of it, so far changed that it is become, in such a degree, what he professed his Kingdom was not : that is, of this world ; of the same sort with other common earthly kingdoms, in which the rewards are worldly honours, posts, offices, pomp, attendance, dominion ; and the punishments are prisons, fines, banishments, gallies and racks ; or something less, of the same sort.

If these can be the true supports of a kingdom which is not of this world, then sincerity and hypocrisy, religion and no religion, force and perswasion, a willing choice and a terrified heart, are both the same things ; truth and falsehood stand in need of the same methods, to propagate and support them ; and our Saviour himself was little acquainted with the right way of increasing the number of such subjects as he wished for. If he had but at first enlightened the powers of this world, as he did St. Paul ; and employed the sword which they bore, and the favours they had in their hands, to bring subjects into his Kingdom ; this had been an expeditious and an effectual way, according to the conduct of some of his professed followers, to have had a glorious and extensive Kingdom or Church. But this was not his design ; unless it could be compassed in quite a different way.

And therefore, when you see our Lord, in his methods, so far removed from those of many of his disciples ; when you read nothing, in his doctrine about his own Kingdom, of taking in the concerns of this world, and mixing them with those of Eternity ; no commands that the frowns and

discouragements of this present state should in any case attend upon conscience and religion ; no rules against the enquiry of all his subjects into his original message from Heaven ; no orders for the kind and charitable force of penalties, or capital punishments, to make men think and chuse aright ; no calling upon the secular arm, whenever the magistrate should become Christian, to inforce his doctrines, or to back his spiritual authority ; but, on the contrary, as plain a declaration as a few words can make that his Kingdom is not of this world : I say, when you see this, from the whole tenour of the Gospel, so vastly opposite to many who take his name into their mouths, the question with you ought to be, whether he did not know the nature of his own Kingdom, or Church, better than any since his time ? whether you can suppose, he left any such matters to be decided against himself and his own express professions ; and, whether, if an angel from Heaven should give you any account of his Kingdom, contrary to what he himself hath done, it can be of any weight, or authority, with Christians ?

I will only make two or three observations, grounded upon this : and so conclude.

1. From what hath been said it is very plain, in general, that the grossest mistakes in judgment about the nature of Christ's Kingdom, or Church, have arisen from hence, that men have argued from other visible societies, and other visible kingdoms of this world, to what ought to be visible and sensible in his Kingdom : constantly leaving out of their notion the most essential part of it, that Christ is King in his own Kingdom ; forgetting this King himself, because he is not now seen by mortal eyes, and substituting others in his place. Whereas he hath positively warned them against any such arguings by assuring them that this Kingdom is his Kingdom, and that it is not of this world ; and therefore that no one of his subjects is law-giver and judge over others of them, in matters relating to salvation, but he alone ; and that we must not frame our ideas from the kingdoms of this world, of what ought to be, in a visible and sensible manner, in his Kingdom.

2. From what hath been said it appears that the Kingdom of Christ, which is the Church of Christ, is the number of persons who are sincerely, and willingly, subjects to him, as Law-giver and Judge, in all matters truly relating to conscience,

or eternal salvation. And the more close and immediate this regard to him is, the more certainly and the more evidently true it is, that they are of his Kingdom. This may appear fully to their own satisfaction, if they have recourse to him himself in the Gospel; if they think it a sufficient authority that he hath declared the conditions of their salvation and that no man upon earth hath any authority to declare any other, or to add one tittle to them; if they resolve to perform what they see he laith a stress upon; and if they trust no mortal with the absolute direction of their consciences, the pardon of their sins, or the determining of their interests in God's favour; but wait for their Judge, who alone can bring to light the hidden things of darkness.

Nor need they envy the happiness of others, who may think it a much more evident mark of their belonging to the Kingdom of Christ that they have other law-givers and judges in Christ's religion, besides Jesus Christ; that they have recourse not to his own words, but to the words of others who profess to interpret them; that they are ready to submit to this interpretation, let it be what it will; that they have set up to themselves the idol of an unintelligible authority, both in belief and worship and practice; in words, under Jesus Christ, but in deed and truth over him; as it removes the minds of his subjects from himself to weak, and passionate men; and as it claims the same rule and power in his Kingdom which he himself alone can have.

There are some professed Christians who contend openly for such an authority as indispensably obliges all around them to unity of profession; that is, to profess even what they do not, what they cannot, believe to be true. This sounds so grossly that others, who think they act a glorious part in opposing such an enormity, are very willing, for their own sakes, to retain such an authority as shall oblige men, whatever they themselves think, though not to profess what they do not believe, yet, to forbear the profession and publication of what they do believe, let them believe it of never so great importance.

Both these pretensions are founded upon the mistaken notion of the peace, as well as the authority, of the Kingdom, that is the Church, of Christ. Which of them is the most unsupportable to an honest and a Christian mind, I am not able to say: because they both equally found the authority

of the Church of Christ upon the ruines of sincerity and common honesty, and mistake stupidity and sleep for peace; because they would both equally have prevented all reformation where it hath been, and will forever prevent it where it is not already; and, in a word, because both equally devest Jesus Christ of his empire in his own Kingdom; set the obedience of his subjects loose from himself; and teach them to prostitute their consciences at the feet of others, who have no right in such a manner to trample upon them.

The peace of Christ's Kingdom is a manly and reasonable peace, built upon charity, and love, and mutual forbearance, and receiving one another as God receives us. As for any other peace, founded upon a submission of our honesty, as well as our understandings, it is falsely so called. It is not the peace of the Kingdom of Christ, but the lethargy of it and a sleep unto death, when his subjects shall throw off their relation to him, fix their subjection to others, and even in cases where they have a right to see, and where they think they see, his will otherwise, shall shut their eyes and go blindfold at the command of others, because those others are not pleased with their enquiries into the will of their great Lord and Judge.

To conclude. The Church of Christ is the Kingdom of Christ. He is King in his own Kingdom. He is sole Law-giver to his subjects, and sole Judge in matters relating to salvation. His laws and sanctions are plainly fixed, and relate to the favour of God, and not at all to the rewards, or penalties, of this world. All his subjects are equally his subjects, and, as such, equally without authority to alter, to add to, or to interpret, his laws so as to claim the absolute submission of others to such interpretation. And all are his subjects, and in his Kingdom, who are ruled and governed by him. Their faith was once delivered by him. The conditions of their happiness were once laid down by him. The nature of God's worship was once declared by him. And it is easy to judge, whether of the two is most becoming a subject of the Kingdom of Christ, that is, a member of his Church—to seek all these particulars in those plain and short declarations of their King and Law-giver himself, or to hunt after them through the infinite contradictions, the numberless perplexities, the endless disputes, of weak men, in several ages, till the enquirer himself

is lost in the labyrinth, and perhaps sits down in despair or infidelity. If Christ be our King, let us shew ourselves subjects to him alone, in the great affair of conscience and eternal salvation, and, without fear of man's judgment, live and act as becomes those who wait for the appearance of an all-knowing and impartial Judge, even that King, whose Kingdom is not of this world.

JOHN WESLEY (1703-1791)

AFTER Hoadly comes Wesley, the hammer of Sadduceism. The sermon given below is one which was suppressed in all editions of Wesley's Works for many years, but it saw the light in 1825 and was reprinted about thirty years since. It was delivered in Ireland in 1789, within two years of his death, and first appeared in 1790 in the *Arminian Methodist Magazine*, but Whitehead says that it was preached more than once before the " assembled preachers." In 1789 Wesley published the *Thoughts on Separation*. Being in Ireland that year on his last visit, he found the Dublin and Cork Societies much troubled by proposals for final severance from the Church. He met them in Dublin on Easter Day and, as he relates, " explained to them the original design of the Methodists, viz., not to be a distinct party, but to stir up all parties, Christians as well as heathens, to worship God in spirit and in truth, but the Church of England in particular, to which they belonged from the beginning. With this view I have uniformly gone on for fifty years, never varying from the doctrine of the Church at all, nor from her discipline of choice, but of necessity."

Three weeks later he preached the " Korah " sermon at Cork, and afterwards it seems at Capoquin, near Lismore. The entries in his *Journal* are these :—" *Sunday*, May 3. The house was sufficiently filled with people as well as with the power of God. *Monday*, 4. So it was again at five [a.m.], when I endeavoured to quench the fire which some had laboured to kindle among the poor quiet people about separating from the Church."

In 1791, just before his death, Wesley wrote : " How shall an Assistant be qualified ? By walking closely with God. . . . By loving the Church of England and resolving not to

separate from it. Let this be well observed. I fear, when the Methodists leave the Church, God will leave them."

Wesley's blindness to facts and to the patent consequences of his own policy of half a century is very astonishing. His magnificent imperiousness and superb self-belief made him think that he could order about events and logic and men's thoughts as he pleased. Two entirely different lives of this man, in some ways the greatest figure of the eighteenth century, might be written. A book published more than forty years ago, *John Wesley in Company with High Churchmen*, had no difficulty in quoting passage after passage favouring sacramentalism and sacerdotalism, and denouncing disloyalty to the Church. In 1775 he described himself as a " High-churchman, the son of a High-churchman." On the other hand, the eminent Wesleyan, Dr. Rigg, in his book *The Churchmanship of John Wesley*, has a perfect right to say that there was quite a different side to Wesley's beliefs. Moreover, " no injunctions or entreaties on his part could change the logic of facts, or prevent the necessary consequences of the course he himself pursued so steadily for fifty years. Besides, his sayings on the other side were sharp and strong. . . In London and Bristol, his chief centres, the service had almost from the beginning been held in Church hours. . . Wesley not only pointed but paved the way for all that has since been done." Dr. Rigg also points out that Wesley's anger with the preachers who had taken the ministry of the sanctuary upon themselves was not that the Church, but that he, had not commissioned them. " Where did I appoint you to this ? *Nowhere at all.*"

Half a century before his death Wesley built meeting-houses, and almost from the first administered Sacraments in them. In 1741, in which year he and Whitefield broke apart, Wesley called out lay-preachers, not only for preaching but for visitation—" and whether I have gone far enough, I am extreamly doubtful." From that day the Society, instead of being a

brotherhood for developing ghostly life in the Church, became more and more identified in his mind with the Church itself. Wakeman says :—

" It represented to him all that was vital in religion. Unlike St. Francis or St. Ignatius, he never submitted the rules of his Society to the authorities of the Church. He never sought provincial, or even diocesan, sanction for his action. He swept away with a wave of his hand the territorial organisation of the Church, as Luther did the epistle of St. James. ' It is an epistle of straw,' said the masterful reformer. ' It is a rope of sand,' said the no less masterful revivalist. The Methodist Society was to override all diocesan and parochial limits by the simple will of its founder. This is the very spirit of schism. . . The Methodist Society broke right across the Church's system with its claim of religious superiority, but in a very few years it adopted a similar system of its own, only with different local areas. The circuit took the place of the parish, the superintendent that of the bishop, and Wesley—and here was the chief difference—became the pope. He would not even suspend the action of the Society in parishes where one of his own friends and sympathisers was incumbent. What wonder that the English clergy, who found their parishes invaded without the knowledge and consent of the bishop, a preaching-house erected, and laymen preaching therein without his licence, should be somewhat sceptical as to the love of the leaders of the Society for the Church of England.

" Wesley's failure lay in his inability to grasp the essentially spiritual character of the organisation of the Church under all the paraphernalia of law. He looked upon the Church mainly as a legal establishment of religion, and never understood that, apart from the sanction of the bishop, express or implied, all pastoral ministration must be irregular. By his own authority alone Wesley organised his Society on a basis absolutely opposed to the first principles of Church order, and the Society itself founded its spiritual life on a doctrine which, as taught

and believed therein, was absolutely contrary to Catholic theology. Practically, whatever the Wesleys themselves might think, or say, they were in fact treating England as a heathen country.

" Naturally enough, the members of the Society soon became far more impatient of the restraints of the Church than were their leaders. To them the Society through which they had experienced the delicious pangs of the new birth, in which they were being trained in the life of Christian perfection, was their spiritual home. The Church was an organisation outside their spiritual life. They had no filial duty to her clergy or her bishops. Many of them had never been inside a church until as Methodists they went to receive the Holy Communion. As the Society grew, and its organisation became more elaborate and self-sufficing, the tendency to greater and greater independence became irresistible. Wesley lamented it, struggled against it, and submitted to it. He had founded his Society on a basis outside Church principle. He had no right to complain if it developed itself on lines outside Church order. To some extent the law itself hastened the separation. But the Society itself had no scruples in accepting the position of a sect. . . In 1760 distinct acts of schism were committed by the lay preachers of Norwich, who took upon themselves to administer the Holy Communion. From that time, as Grimshaw of Haworth said, the Methodists were to all intents and purposes a nonconformist sect." [1]

A good deal more than a question of " Church order " was at stake, and it was of no avail for Wesley, in spite of what the biographer Whitehead describes as his absolute autocracy in the Society, to cry, " In God's name, stop ! " In 1784 he obtained a legal constitution for the governing Hundred of " the People called Methodists," with power to appoint ministers and preachers. In that year he went through the form, despite his brother Charles's protests, of consecrating two

[1] *History of the Church of England*, pp. 443 ff

" superintendents " for America ; the year after he ordained ministers for the Scottish congregations—he made them, however, put off their canonicals and the title " Reverend " on crossing the border—and some in 1788 for England. In 1789 he ordained two " presbyters " for English Methodists. He continued to " warn the people not to call our preachers Ministers or our Society a Church." But he had not been three years in his grave before the lay preachers were permitted to administer Sacraments, their ordination being frankly from below and, until 1836, with no form beyond the delivery of the " Larger Minutes." The name " Minister " was first officially recognised, and the word " Church " used, in 1839.

Thus do strong-willed men, dominating and imperial spirits, generate earth-shaking forces which they cannot guide or control. " Methodism, so called," said Wesley in 1777, " is the old religion, the religion of the Bible, the religion of the Primitive Church, the religion of the Church of England." Bishop Butler thought differently.

The Gainsaying of Korah

No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.—Hebrews v, 4.

1. There are exceeding few texts of Holy Scripture which have been more frequently urged than this against Laymen, that are neither Priests nor Deacons, and yet take upon them to preach. Many have asked, How dare any *take this honour to himself, unless he be called of God, as was Aaron?* And a pious and sensible Clergyman some years ago published a Sermon on these words, wherein he endeavours to shew, that it is not enough to be inwardly called of God to preach, as many imagine themselves to be, unless they are outwardly called by men sent of God for that purpose, as *Aaron was called of God* by *Moses.*

2. But there is one grievous flaw in this argument, as often it has been urged. *Called of God as was Aaron!* But Aaron did not preach at all : he was not called to it either by God or man. Aaron was called to minister in holy things : to offer up prayers

and sacrifices: to execute the office of a Priest. But he was never called to be a Preacher.

3. In ancient times the office of a Priest and that of a Preacher were known to be entirely distinct. And so everyone will be convinced that impartially traces the matter from the beginning. From *Adam* to *Noah* it is allowed by all that the first-born in every family was of course the Priest in that family, by virtue of his primogeniture. But this gave him no right to be a Preacher, or (in the scriptural language) a Prophet. This office not unfrequently belonged to the youngest branch of the family. For in this respect God always asserted his *right*, to send by whom he *would* send.

4. From the time of *Noah* to that of *Moses* the same observation may be made. The eldest of the family was the Priest, but any other might be the Prophet. This, the office of Priest, we find *Esau* inherited by virtue of his birth-right: till he profanely sold it to *Jacob, for a mess of pottage.* And this it was which he could never recover, *though he sought it carefully with tears.*

5. Indeed in the time of *Moses* a very considerable change was made with regard to the Priesthood. God then appointed that, instead of the first-born in every house, a whole tribe should be dedicated to him: and that all that afterwards ministered unto him as Priests should be of that tribe. Thus *Aaron* was one of the tribe of *Levi*. And so likewise was *Moses*. But he was not a Priest, though he was the greatest Prophet that ever lived, before God brought his first begotten into the world. Meantime not many of the Levites were Prophets. And if any were, it was a mere accidental thing. They were not such, as being of that tribe. Many, if not most, of the Prophets (as we are informed by the antient Jewish writers) were of the tribe of *Simeon*. And some men of the tribe of *Benjamin* or *Judah*, and probably of other tribes also.

6. But we have reason to believe there were, in every age, two sorts of Prophets. The extraordinary, such as *Nathan, Isaiah, Jeremiah*, and many others, on whom the Holy Ghost came in an extraordinary manner. Such was *Amos* in particular, who saith of himself (ch. vii, 14), *I was no prophet, neither a prophet's son. But I was an herdman, and the Lord said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.* The ordinary were those who were educated in the *schools of the prophets*,

one of which was at *Ramah*, over which *Samuel* presided, 1 *Sam.* xix, 18. These were trained up to instruct the people, and were the ordinary Preachers in their Synagogues. In the New Testament they are usually termed *Scribes*, or *νομικοί*, *expounders of the law*. But few, if any, of them were Priests. These were all along a different order.

7. Many learned men have shown at large that our Lord himself, and all his Apostles, built the Christian Church as nearly as possible on the plan of the *Jewish*. So the great High Priest of our profession sent *Apostles* and *Evangelists* to proclaim glad tidings to all the world, and then *Pastors, Preachers and Teachers*, to build up in the faith the congregations that should be found. But I do not find that ever the office of an *Evangelist* was the same with that of a *Pastor*, frequently called a *Bishop*. He presided over the flock, and administered the sacraments: the former assisted him and preached the word, either in one or more congregations. I cannot prove from any part of the New Testament, or from any author of the three first centuries, that the office of an *Evangelist* gave any man a right to act as a *Pastor* or *Bishop*. I believe these offices were considered as quite distinct from each other, till the time of *Constantine*.

8. Indeed, in that evil hour when *Constantine the Great* called himself *a Christian*, the case was widely altered. It soon grew common for one man to take the whole charge of a congregation, in order to engross the whole pay. Hence the same person acted as Priest and Prophet, as Pastor and Evangelist. And this gradually spread more and more, throughout the whole Christian Church. Yet even at this day, although the same person usually discharges both those offices, yet the office of an Evangelist or Teacher does not imply that of a Pastor, to whom peculiarly belongs the administration of the sacraments: neither among the Presbyterians, nor in the Church of *England*, nor even among the *Roman Catholicks*. All Presbyterian Churches, it is well known, that of *Scotland* in particular, license men to preach before they are ordained, throughout the whole kingdom. And it is never understood that this appointment to preach gives them any right to administer the sacraments. Likewise, in our own Church, persons may be authorized to preach, yea, may be Doctors of Divinity (as was Dr. *Alwood* at *Oxford*, when I resided there),

who are not ordained at all, and consequently have no right to administer the Lord's Supper. Yea, even in the Church of *Rome* itself, if a Lay-brother believes he is called to go a mission, as it is termed, he is sent out, though neither Priest nor Deacon, to execute that office, and not the other.

9. " But may it not be thought that the case now before us is different from all these ? " Undoubtedly in many respects it is. Such a phenomenon has now appeared as has not appeared in the Christian world before, at least not for many ages. Two young men *sowed the word of God*, not only in the Churches, but likewise literally *by the high-wayside*, and indeed in every place where they saw an open door, where sinners had ears to hear. They were members of the Church of *England*, and had no design of separating from it. And they advised all that were of it to continue therein, although they joined the *Methodist* society ; for this did not imply leaving their former congregation, but only leaving their sins. The Church-men might go to Church still ; the Presbyterian, Anabaptist, Quaker, might still retain their own opinions, and attend their own congregations. The having a real desire to flee from the wrath to come was the only condition required of them. Whosoever therefore *feared God and worked righteousness* was qualified for this Society.

10. Not long after, a young man (*Thomas Maxfield*) offered himself to serve them as a son in the gospel. And then another, *Thomas Richards*, and a little after a third, *Thomas Westell*. Let it be well observed on what terms we received these, viz. as *Prophets*, not as *Priests*. We received them, wholly and solely, to preach, not to administer Sacraments. And those who imagine these offices to be inseparably joined are totally ignorant of the constitution of the whole *Jewish* as well as Christian Church. Neither the *Romish* nor the *English* nor the *Presbyterian* churches ever accounted them so. Otherwise we should never have accepted the service either of Mr. *Maxfield*, *Richards*, or *Westell*.

11. In 1744, all the Methodist Preachers had their first Conference. But none of them dreamed that the being called to preach gave them any right to administer Sacraments. And when that question was proposed, " In what light are we to consider ourselves ? " it was answered, " As *extraordinary messengers*, raised up to provoke the *ordinary* ones to jealousy."

In order hereto, one of our first rules was given to each Preacher, "You are to do *that part* of the work which we appoint." But *what work* was this? Did we ever appoint you to administer Sacraments, to exercise the Priestly Office? Such a design never entered into our mind; it was the farthest from our thoughts. And if any Preacher had taken such a step, we should have looked upon it as a palpable breach of this rule, and consequently as a recantation of our connexion.

12. For, supposing (what I utterly deny) that the receiving you as a Preacher at the same time gave an authority to administer the Sacraments: yet it gave you no other authority than to do it, or any thing else, *where I appoint.* But where did I appoint you to do this? No where at all. Therefore by this very rule you are excluded from doing it. And in doing it you renounce the first principle of Methodism, which was wholly and solely to preach the gospel.

13. It was several years after our Society was formed, before any attempt of this kind was made. The first was, I apprehend, at *Norwich.* One of our Preachers there yielded to the importunity of a few of the people, and baptized their children. But, as soon as it was known, he was informed it must not be, unless he designed to leave our connexion. He promised to do it no more: and I suppose he kept his promise.

14. Now, as long as the Methodists keep to this plan, they cannot separate from the Church. And this is our peculiar glory. It is new upon the earth. Revolve all the histories of the Church, from the earliest ages, and you will find, whenever there was a great work of God in any particular city or nation, the subjects of that work soon said to their neighbours, "Stand by yourselves, for we are holier than you!" As soon as ever they separated themselves, either they retired into deserts, or they built religious houses; or at least formed parties, into which none was admitted but such as subscribed both to their judgment and practice. But with the Methodists it is quite otherwise. They are not a Sect or Party. They do not separate from the Religious Community to which they at first belonged. They are still members of the Church. Such they desire to live and die. And, I believe, one reason why God is pleased to continue my life so long, is to confirm them in their present purpose, not to separate from the Church.

15. But, notwithstanding this, many warm men say, "Nay, but you *do* separate from the Church." Others are equally warm, because, they say, I *do not*. I will nakedly declare the thing as it is.

I hold all the doctrines of the Church of *England*. I love her liturgy. I approve her plan of discipline, and only wish it could be put in execution. I do not knowingly vary from any rule of the Church, unless in those few instances where I judge, and as far as I judge, there is an absolute necessity.

For instance: 1. As few Clergymen open their Churches to me, I am under the necessity of *preaching abroad*.

2. As I know no forms that will suit all occasions, I am often under a necessity of *praying extempore*.

3. In order to build up the flock of Christ in faith and love, I am under a necessity of uniting them together, and of dividing them into little Companies, that they may provoke one another to love and good works.

4. That my fellow-labourers and I may more effectually assist each other, to save our own souls and those that hear us, I judge it necessary to meet the preachers, or at least the greater part of them, once a year.

5. In those Conferences we fix the stations of all the Preachers for the ensuing year.

But all this is not separating from the Church. So far from it that, whenever I have opportunity, I attend the Church Service myself, and advise all our Societies so to do.

16. Nevertheless as the generality even of religious people, who do not understand my motives of acting, on the one hand hear me profess that I will not separate from the Church, and on the other [see] that I do vary from it in these instances, they will naturally think, "I am inconsistent with myself." And they cannot but think so, unless they observe my two principles. The one, that I dare not separate from the Church, that I believe it would be a sin so to do: the other, that I believe it would be a sin not to vary from it in the points above mentioned. I say, put these two principles together, first, I will not separate from the Church, yet, secondly, in cases of necessity, I will vary from it (both of which I have constantly and openly avowed, for upwards of

fifty years), and inconsistency vanishes away. I have been true to my profession from 1730 to this day.

17. "But, is it not contrary to your profession to permit services in *Dublin* at Church hours? For what necessity is there for this? Or what good end does it answer?" I believe it answers several good ends, which could not so well be answered any other way. The first is, (strange as it may sound) to *prevent a separation* from the Church. Many of our Society were totally separated from the Church: they never attended it at all. But now they duly attend the Church every first Sunday in the month. "But had they not better attend it every week?" Yes; but who can persuade them to it? I cannot. I have strove to do it, twenty or thirty years, but in vain. The second is, the weaning them from attending Dissenting Meetings, which many of them attended constantly, but have now wholly left. The third is, the constantly hearing that sound Doctrine which is able to save their souls.

18. I wish all of you who are vulgarly termed Methodists would seriously consider what has been said. And particularly you, whom God hath commissioned to call sinners to repentance. It does by no means follow from hence, that ye are commissioned to baptize, or to administer the Lord's Supper. Ye never dreamed of this, for ten or twenty years, after ye began to preach. Ye did not then, like *Korah, Dathan* and *Abiram, seek the priesthood also.* Ye knew, *No man taketh this honour unto himself but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.* O contain yourselves within your own bounds. Be content with preaching the gospel. *Do the work of Evangelists.* Proclaim to all the world the loving kindness of God our Saviour. Declare to all, *The kingdom of Heaven is at hand: repent ye and believe the gospel.* I earnestly advise you, abide in your place, keep your own station. Ye were fifty years ago, those of you that were then *Methodist Preachers, extraordinary messengers* of God, not going in your own will, but *thrust out,* not to supersede, but to *provoke to jealousy,* the *ordinary messengers.* In God's name, stop there! Both by your preaching and example, provoke them to love and to good works. Ye are a new phenomenon in the earth: a body of people who, being of no sect or party, are friends to all parties, and endeavour to forward all in Heart Religion, in the knowledge and love of God and man. Ye yourselves were

at first called in the Church of *England*: and though ye have and will have a thousand temptations to leave it, and set up for yourselves, regard them not. Be Church of *England* men still. Do not cast away the peculiar glory which God hath put upon you, and frustrate the design of Providence, the very end for which God raised you up.

19. I would add a few words to those serious people who are not connected with the Methodists: many of whom are of our own Church, the Church of *England*. And why should ye be displeased with us? We do you no harm: we do not design or desire to offend you in any thing. We hold your doctrines: we observe your rules, more than do most of the people in the kingdom. Some of you are clergymen. And why should *ye*, of all men, be displeased with us? We neither attack your character nor your revenue. We honour you for *your work's sake!* If we see some things which we do not approve of, we do not publish them. We rather cast a mantle over them, and hide what we cannot commend. When ye treat us unkindly or unjustly, we suffer it. *Being reviled, we bless.* We do not return railing for railing. O let not *your* hand be upon us!

20. Ye that are *rich* in this world, count us not your enemies, because we tell you the truth: and it may be in a fuller and stronger manner than any others will or dare do. Ye have therefore need of us, inexpressible need. Ye cannot buy such friends at any price. All your gold and silver cannot purchase such. Make use of us while ye may. If it be possible, never be without some of those who will speak the truth from their heart. Otherwise ye may grow grey in your sins. Ye may say to your souls, "Peace, peace!" while there is no peace! Ye may sleep on, and dream ye are in the way to heaven, till ye awake in everlasting fire.

21. But whether ye will hear, or whether ye will forbear, we, by the grace of God, hold on our way: being ourselves still members of the Church of *England*, as we were from the beginning, but receiving all that love God in every Church, as our brother and sister and mother. And in order to their union with us we require no unity in opinions, or in modes of worship, but barely that they *fear God and work righteousness*, as was observed. Now this is utterly a new thing, unheard of in any other Christian Community. In what Church or Congregation

beside, throughout the Christian world, can members be admitted upon these terms, without any other conditions? Point any such out, whoever can: I know none in *Europe, Asia, Africa,* or *America!* This is the glory of the Methodists, and of them alone! They are themselves no particular Sect or Party: but they receive those of all parties who *endeavour to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with their God.*

SAMUEL HORSLEY (1733-1800)

Messrs. Overton and Relton, in their history of the English Church in the eighteenth century, speak of Samuel Horsley —successively Bishop of St. David's, Rochester and St. Asaph —as a "great divine," a "giant," whose writings against Priestley in defence of the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity are "masterpieces." "His works are models of English composition, pure and stately in style, irrefragable in argument, sarcastic, but never scurrilous. His sermons and his speeches in the House of Lords are equally conspicuous for their powerful reasoning and admirable English. And yet Horsley is forgotten."

Not forgotten. But his reputation has certainly been eclipsed since Coleridge spoke of him as "the one red leaf, the last of its clan, with relation to the learned teachers of our Church," and Isaac Milner styled him "the first episcopal authority, if learning, wisdom and knowledge of the Scriptures be any foundation for authority," or John Milner, the Roman Catholic historian, described him as "the light and glory of the Established Church."

Horsley is one of the divines who carried on the Apostolical and anti-Erastian tradition through the eighteenth century. "To be a *High Churchman*," he said, in a charge to the clergy of St. David's, "God forbid that this should ever cease to be my publick pretension, my pride, my glory! My reverend brethren, we must be content to be High Churchmen or we cannot be Churchmen at all. For he who thinks of God's ministers as the mere servants of the State is out of the Church —severed from it by a kind of self-excommunication." The true High Churchman is "an upholder of the spiritual authority of the priesthood," though not "a bigot to its secular rights." He adds: "We are more than mere hired servants of the

State or laity." Charging the clergy of his Rochester diocese in the closing century, he lamented that "the Festivals and Fasts of the Church are gone too much into oblivion and neglect." Even in the smallest village church the Feast of Christmas and the Fasts of Ash Wednesday and Good Friday ought to be observed, while in bigger places even more than this should be expected. On the last Easter Day of the century Bishop Tomline tells us that the communicants at St. Paul's cathedral numbered six. To be sure, the city churches still had good Sunday congregations.[1]

Bishop Horsley, it must however be added, condoned clerical non-residence, observing that "many non-residents are promoting the general cause of Christianity, and perhaps doing better service, than if they confined themselves to the ordinary labours of the ministry." Paley, who was of a different school, had suggested pastoral ministration to the parishioners from a distance by means of tracts! Horsley also deprecated Indian missions, and was alarmed by the Sunday school movement, finding "much ground for suspicion that sedition and atheism are the real objects of these institutions rather than religion." It should be said that Sunday schools at the beginning were not all of the Mrs. Trimmer type and were hardly the colourless things they are now—the coming French Revolution was drawing all things into its orbit. The late Bishop of Salisbury has mentioned the tendency of philanthropic, but especially temperance, movements in Sweden towards irreligion.[2] Bishop Horsley was at any rate an active and conscientious Chief Pastor, a powerful defender of the Faith at a time when thoughtful men feared the total disappearance of Christianity. He almost joined hands with the Nonjurors on one side and the Tractarians on the other, though neither would have relished his attachment, perhaps rather

[1] It is fair also to remember what Sydney Smith says :—"I have very often counted in the afternoon of week-days in St. Paul's 150 people, and on Sundays it is full to suffocation." (*Third Letter to Archdeacon Singleton.*)

[2] The *National Church of Sweden*, pp. 380, 331

conventional, to "the glorious epoch of the [English] Revolution."

The following sermon—which stands last in the published collection—is notable for the circumstances under which it was preached and for the burst of impassioned eloquence at its close, at which the prelacy and nobility of England, before whom it was delivered, sprang to their feet and remained standing to the end. It was the Thirtieth of January, 1793; and, if the observance of the day on which a King of England was decapitated in front of his own palace was lapsing after a century and a half into something of a pious form, it could be no form on this occasion, for it was scarcely a week since the awful news had come of the death of the King of France under the guillotine in front of the Tuileries.

Horsley had come to be looked on as one of the leaders of national feeling, and during the French war was both vehemently applauded and vehemently attacked for his attitude. In 1799, in a critical discussion of the Woe of Ethiopia in Isaiah xviii, he wrote:—"I see nothing in the progress of the French arms which any nation, fearing God and worshipping the Son, should fear to resist. I see everything that should rouse all Christendom to a vigorous confederate resistance. I see everything that should excite *this country* in particular to resist, and to *take the lead* in a confederacy of resistance, by all means which policy can suggest, and the valour and opulence of a great nation can supply."

The Death of Louis XVI

Preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, January 30, 1793; being the Anniversary of the Martyrdom of King Charles the First.

Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers.—Romans xiii, 1.

The freedom of dispute in which for several years past it hath been the folly in this country to indulge, upon matters of such high importance as the origin of government and the authority of sovereigns; the futility of the principles which the assertors, as they have been deemed, of the natural rights of men allege

as the foundation of that semblance of power which they would be thought willing to leave in the hands of the supreme magistrate (principles rather calculated to palliate sedition than to promote the peace of society and add to the security of government)—this forwardness to dispute about the limits of the sovereign's power, and the extent of the people's rights, with this evident desire to set civil authority upon a foundation on which it cannot stand secure, argues, it should seem, that something is forgotten among the writers who have presumed to treat these curious questions, and among those talkers who, with little knowledge or reflexion of their own, think they talk safely after so high authorities. It surely is forgotten that, whatever praise may be due to the philosophers of the heathen world, who, in order to settle, not to confound, the principles of human conduct, set themselves to investigate the source of the obligations of morality and law, the Christian is possessed of a written rule of conduct delivered from on high, which is treated with prophane contempt if reference be not had to it upon all questions of duty, or if its maxims are tortured from their natural and obvious sense.

From these records it appears that the Providence of God was careful to give a beginning to the human race in that particular way which might for ever bar the existence of the whole or of any large portion of mankind in that state which hath been called the state of nature. Mankind from the beginning never existed otherwise than in society and under government: whence follows this important consequence,—that to build the authority of princes, or of the chief magistrate under whatever denomination, upon any compact or agreement between the individuals of a multitude living previously in the state of nature, is in truth to build a reality upon a fiction.

But this absurdity is in truth but the least part of the mischief which this ill-conceived theory draws after it. Had what is called the state of nature,—though a thing so unnatural hath little title to the name,—but had this state been in fact the primeval condition of mankind: that is, had the world been at first peopled with a multitude of individuals no otherwise related than as they had partaken of the same internal nature and carried the same external form—without distinct property, yet all possessing equal right to what they might have

strength or cunning to appropriate each to himself of the earth's common store; without any governor, head or guardian,—no government could ever have been formed by any compact between the individuals of this multitude but what their children in the very next generation would have had full right to abolish, or any one or more of those children, even in opposition to the sense of the majority, with perfect innocence, though not without imprudence, might have disobeyed: insomuch that, if such compact be the true foundation of sovereign authority, the foundation is weaker than these republican theorists themselves conceive.

The whole foundation of government, in their view of it, is laid in these two assumptions,—the first, that the will of a majority obliges the minority; and the second, that the whole posterity may be bound by the act and deed of their progenitors. But both these rights—that of the many to bind the few, and that of the father to make a bargain that shall bind his unborn children,—both these rights, though sacred and incontrovertible in civil society, are yet of the number of those to which civil society itself gives birth, and out of society they could have no existence. And to make those civil rights and obligations the parents of public authority which are indeed its offspring is strangely to confound causes and effects.

The plain truth is this: the manner in which, as we are informed upon the authority of God himself, God gave a beginning to the world evidently leads to this conclusion—namely, that civil society, which always implies government, is the condition to which God originally destined man: whence, the obligation on the citizen to submit to government is an immediate result from that first principle of religious duty which requires that man conform himself, as far as in him lies, with the will and purpose of his Maker. The governments which now are have arisen not from a previous state of no government, falsely called the state of nature, but from that original government under which the first generations of men were brought into existence, variously changed and modified, in a long course of ages, under the wise direction of God's overruling providence, to suit the various climates of the world, and the infinitely varied manners and conditions of its inhabitants. And the principle of subjection is not that principle of common honesty which binds a man to his own engagements,

much less that principle of political honesty which binds the child to the ancestor's engagements; but a conscientious submission to the will of God.

I must observe that the principles which I advance ascribe no greater sanctity to monarchy than to any other form of established government; nor do they at all involve that exploded notion that all or any of the present sovereigns of the earth hold their sovereignty by virtue of such immediate or implied nomination on the part of God, of themselves personally, or of the stocks from which they are descended, as might confer an endless, indefeasible right upon the posterity of the persons named. In contending that government was coeval with mankind, it will readily be admitted that all the particular forms of government which now exist are the work of human policy, under the control of God's general overruling providence; that the Israelites were the only people upon earth whose form of government was of express Divine institution, and their kings the only monarchs who ever reigned by an indefeasible divine title. But it is contended that all government is in such sort of Divine institution that, be the form of any particular government what it may, the submission of the individual is a principal branch of that religious duty which each man owes to God; it is contended that the state of mankind was never such that it was free to any man or to any number of men to choose for themselves whether they would live subject to government and united to society, or altogether free and unconnected.

It is true that in the world, taken as it now is and hath been for many ages, cases happen in which the sovereign power is conferred by the act of the people, and in which that act alone can give the sovereign a just title. The condition of a people, in these emergencies, bears no resemblance or analogy to that anarchy which hath been called the state of nature; the people become not in these situations of government what they would be in that state, a mere multitude; they are a society—not dissolved, but in danger of dissolution; and, by the great law of self-preservation, inherent in the body politick no less than in the solitary animal, a society so situated hath a right to use the best means for its own preservation and perpetuity. A people therefore in these circumstances hath a right, which a mere multitude unassociated could never have,

of appointing, by the consent of the majority, for themselves and their posterity, a new head : and it will readily be admitted that, of all sovereigns, none reign by so fair and just a title as those who can derive their claim from such publick act of the nation which they govern. But it is no just inference that the obligation upon the private citizen to submit himself to the authority thus raised arises wholly from the act of the people conferring it, or from their compact with the person on whom it is conferred. In all these cases, the act of the people is only the means which Providence employs to advance the new sovereign to his station ; the obligation to obedience proceeds secondarily only from the act of man, but primarily from the will of God, who hath appointed civil life for man's condition, and requires the citizen's submission to the sovereign whom his providence shall by whatever means set over him.

Thus, in our own country, at the glorious epoch of the Revolution, the famous Act of Settlement was the means which Providence employed to place the British sceptre in the hands which now wield it. That statute is confessedly the sole foundation of the sovereign's title ; nor can any future sovereign have a just title to the crown, the law continuing as it is, whose claim stands not upon that ground. Yet it is not merely by virtue of that act that the subject's allegiance is due to him whose claim is founded on it. In this country, how many thousands and ten thousands of the common people never heard of the Act of Settlement ! Of those to whom the name may be familiar, how many have never taken the pains to acquire any accurate knowledge of its contents ! Yet not one of these is absolved from his allegiance by his ignorance of his sovereign's title. Where then shall we find that general principle that binds the duty of allegiance equally on all, read or unread in the statute-book and in the history of their country ? Where shall we find it, but among those general rules of duty which proceed immediately from the will of the Creator, and have been impressed upon the conscience of every man by the original constitution of the world ?

This divine right of the first magistrate in every polity to the citizen's obedience is not of that sort which it were high treason to claim for the sovereigns of this country. It is quite a distinct thing from the pretended divine right to the

inheritance of the crown. It is a right which the most zealous republicans acknowledged to be divine, in former times, before republican zeal had ventured to espouse the interests of atheism. It is a right which in no country can be denied, without the highest of all treasons ;—the denial of it were treason against the paramount authority of God.

These views of the authority of civil governours, as they are obviously suggested by the Mosaic history of the first ages, so they are confirmed by the precepts of the gospel ;—in which, if any thing is to be found clear, peremptory and unequivocal, it is the injunction of submission to the sovereign authority ; and, in monarchies, of loyalty to the person of the sovereign. " Let every soul," says the apostle in my text, " be subject to the higher powers."

The word " powers " here signifies persons bearing power : any other meaning of it, whatever may be pretended, is excluded by the context. The text, indeed, had been better rendered— " Let every soul be subject to the sovereign powers." The word " sovereign " renders the exact meaning of that Greek word for which the English Bible in this place rather unhappily puts the comparative " higher " ; in another passage it is very properly rendered by a word equivalent to sovereign, by the word " supreme." " Let every soul be subject to the sovereign powers." The sovereignty particularly intended, in the immediate application of the precept to those to whom the Epistle was addressed, was the sovereign authority of the Roman Emperor. Nero was at the time the possessor of that sovereignty; and the Apostle, in what he immediately subjoins to enforce his precept, seems to obviate an objection which he was well aware the example of Nero's tyranny might suggest. Such reasonings (saith the Apostle) are erroneous : no king, however he might use or abuse authority, ever reigned but by the appointment of God's providence. There is no such thing as power but from God ; to him, whatever powers, good or bad, are at any time subsisting in the world, are subordinate ; he has good ends of his own, not always to be foreseen by us, to be effected by the abuse of power, as by other partial evils ; and to his own secret purpose he directs the worst actions of tyrants, no less than the best of godly princes. Man's abuse, therefore, of his delegated authority is to be borne with resignation, like any other of God's judgments. The opposition of

the individual to the sovereign power is an opposition to God's providential arrangements; and it is the more inexcusable, because the well-being of mankind is the general end for which government is obtained; and this end of government, under all its abuses, is generally answered by it. For the good of government is perpetual and universal; the mischiefs resulting from the abuse of power, temporary and partial: insomuch that in governments which are the worst administered the sovereign power, for the most part, is a terrour not to good works, but to the evil, and, upon the whole, far more beneficial than detrimental to the subject. But this general good of government cannot be secured upon any other terms than the submission of the individual to what may be called its extraordinary evils.

Such is the general scope and tenour of the argument by which St. Paul enforces the duty of the private citizen's subjection to the sovereign authority. He never once mentions that god of the republican's idolatry, the consent of the ungoverned millions of mankind; he represents the earthly sovereign as the vicegerent of God, accountable for misconduct to his heavenly Master, but entitled to obedience from the subject.

While thus we reprobate the doctrine of the first formation of government out of anarchy by a general consent, we confess —with thankfulness to the overruling providence of God—we confess and we maintain that in this country the king is under the obligation of an express contract with the people. I say, of an *express* contract. In every monarchy in which the will of the sovereign is in any degree subject (as more or less indeed it is in all) either to the control of custom or to a fixed rule of law, something of a compact is implied at least between the king and the nation; for limitation of the sovereign power implies a mutual agreement, which hath fixed the limits: but in this country, the contract is not tacit, implied and vague; it is explicit, patent and precise; it is summarily expressed in the Coronation oath; it is drawn out at length and in detail in the Great Charter and the corroborating statutes, in the Petition of Right, in the *Habeas Corpus* Act, in the Bill of Rights, and in the Act of Settlement. Nor shall we scruple to assert that our kings in the exercise of their sovereignty are held to the terms of this express and solemn

stipulation ; which is the legal measure of their power and rule of their conduct. The consequence which some have attempted to deduce from these most certain premises we abominate and reject, as wicked and illegitimate—namely, that " our kings are the servants of the people ; and that it is the right of the people to cashier them for misconduct." Our ancestors are slandered—their wisdom is insulted—their virtue is defamed, when these seditious maxims are set forth as the principles on which the great business of the Revolution was conducted, or as the groundwork on which the noblest production of human reason, the wonderful fabrick of the British constitution, stands.

Our constitution hath indeed effectually secured the monarch's performance of his engagements,—not by that clumsy contrivance of republican wit, the establishment of a court of judicature with authority to try his conduct and to punish his delinquency ; not by that coarser expedient of modern levellers, a reference to the judgment and the sentence of the multitude—wise judgment, I ween, and righteous sentence !—but by two peculiar provisions of a deep and subtle policy—the one in the form, the other in the principles of government ; which, in their joint operation, render the transgression of the covenant on the part of the monarch little less than a moral impossibility. The one is the judicious partition of the legislative authority between the King and the two houses of Parliament ; the other, the responsibility attaching upon the advisers and official servants of the Crown. Having thus excluded all probability of the event of a systematic abuse of royal power, or a dangerous exorbitance of prerogative, our constitution exempts her kings from the degrading necessity of being accountable to the subject ; she invests them with the high attribute of political impeccability ; she declares that wrong, in his publick capacity, a King of Great Britain cannot do ; and thus unites the most perfect security of the subject's liberty with the most absolute inviolability of the sacred person of the sovereign.

Such is the British constitution—its basis, religion ; its end, liberty ; its principal means and safeguard of liberty, the majesty of the sovereign. In support of it the king is not more interested than the peasant.

It was a signal instance of God's mercy, not imputing to the

people of this land the atrocious deed of a desperate faction ; it was a signal instance of God's mercy that the goodly fabrick was not crushed in the middle of the last century, ere it had attained its finished perfection, by the phrensy of that phanatical banditti which took the life of the First Charles. In the madness and confusion which followed the shedding of that blood, our history holds forth an edifying example of the effects that are ever to be expected—in that example, it gives warning of the effects that ever are intended—by the dissemination of those infernal maxims that kings are the servants of the people, punishable by their masters. The same lesson is confirmed by the horrible example which the present hour exhibits, in the unparalleled misery of a neighbouring nation, once great in learning, arts, and arms, now torn by contending factions ; her government demolished—her altars overthrown—her first-born despoiled of their birth-right—her nobles degraded—her best citizens exiled—her riches, sacred and prophane, given up to the pillage of sacrilege and rapine—atheists directing her councils—desperadoes conducting her armies—wars of unjust and chimerical ambition consuming her youth—her granaries exhausted—her fields uncultivated—famine threatening her multitudes—her streets swarming with assassins, filled with violence, deluged with blood !

Is the picture frightful ? Is the misery extreme—the guilt horrid ? Alas ! these things were but the prelude of the tragedy : publick justice poisoned in its source, prophaned in the abuse of its most solemn forms to the foulest purposes—a monarch deliberately murdered ; a monarch, whose only crime it was that he inherited a sceptre the thirty-second of his illustrious stock, butchered on a publick scaffold, after the mockery of arraignment, trial, sentence—butchered without the merciful formalities of the vilest malefactor's execution—the sad privilege of a last farewell to the surrounding populace refused—not the pause of a moment allowed for devotion—honourable interment denied to the corpse—the royal widow's anguish imbittered by the rigour of a close imprisonment, with hope indeed, at no great distance, of release, of such release as hath been given to her lord !

This foul murder, and these barbarities, have filled the measure of the guilt and infamy of France. O my country ! read the horrour of thy own deed in this recent heightened

imitation! Lament and weep that this black French treason should have found its example in the crime of thy unnatural sons! Our contrition for our guilt that stained our land—our gratitude to God, whose mercy so soon restored our church and monarchy—our contrition for our own crime, and our gratitude for God's unspeakable mercy, will be best expressed by us all by setting the example of a dutiful submission to government in our own conduct, and by inculcating upon our children and dependants a loyal attachment to a king who hath ever sought his own glory in the virtue and prosperity of his people, and administers justice with an even, firm and gentle hand,—a king who, in many public acts, hath testified his affection for the free constitution of this country,—a king, of whom, or of the princes issued from his loins and trained by his example, it were injurious to harbour a suspicion that they will ever be inclined to use their power to any other end than for the support of publick liberty. Let us remember that a conscientious submission to the sovereign power is, no less than brotherly love, a distinctive badge of Christ's disciples. Blessed be God, in the Church of England both those marks of genuine Christianity have ever been conspicuous. Perhaps in the exercise of brotherly love it is the amiable infirmity of Englishmen to be too easy to admit the claim of a spiritual kindred: the times compel me to remark that brotherly love embraces only brethren; the term of holy brotherhood is prophaned by an indiscriminate application. We ought to mark those who cause divisions and offences. Nice scruples about external forms, and differences of opinion upon controvertible points, cannot but take place among the best Christians, and dissolve not the fraternal tie: none indeed, at this season, are more entitled to our offices of love than those with whom the difference is wide, in points of doctrine, discipline and external rites—those venerable exiles, the prelates and clergy of the fallen church of France, endeared to us by the edifying example they exhibit of patient suffering for conscience' sake. But if any enjoying the blessings of the British government, living under the protection of its free constitution and its equal laws, have dared to avow the wicked sentiment that this day of national contrition, this rueful day of guilt and shame, "is a proud day for England, to be remembered as such by the latest posterity of freemen," with such persons it is

meet that we abjure all brotherhood. Their spot is not the spot of our family; they have no claim upon our brotherly affection. Upon our charity they have indeed a claim. Miserable men! "they are in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity": it is our duty to pray God, if perhaps the thought of their hearts may be forgiven them.

SYDNEY SMITH (1771-1845)

MACAULAY described Sydney Smith as the greatest master of ridicule since Swift, and wit is a weapon which some of the most impressive preachers have employed. Smith's astonishing gift of richly fantastic and pungently argumentative jocosity, however, though nearly always directed to a serious purpose, could hardly find a place in his sermons, which exhibit another side of his style, that of the plain, direct, but incisive, man of the world. He was often a buffoon, but not a pulpit buffoon; often coarse, but not there. The sermon here given is described by Mr. George Russell as a "noble sermon, a remarkably fine instance of Sydney Smith's rhetorical manner."[1] Dugald Stewart said that Smith's preaching gave him "a thrilling sensation of sublimity never before awakened by any oratory." It strikes us as fresh, masculine and racy, rather than sublime. There was nothing of the rapt and ghostly prophet, though there was much of the eager-breasted reformer, in this ecclesiastic *malgré lui*, who regarded Holy Orders avowedly as a profession, a steward of divine mysteries as merely a human being in a surplice, and the Church of God as a subordinate branch of the Civil Service. He scoffed at the silly ways of Methodists—"a nest of consecrated cobblers"—of the "Clapham Sect," and of posturing Puseyites, being especially scandalized at the progress of these last "foolish people." The religion of the majority of Christians—for whose civil rights he was vigorously contending—was "Catholic nonsense" and the "superstitious mummery of blockheads." But his loudest gibes were kept for men—like Carey—who had given up home and ease to carry Christ's message to His other sheep not of this fold, rejoicing derisively when they were harried by governmental decree out of India. Sydney Smith declared in

[1] *Sydney Smith*, "English Men of Letters" series, p. 154.

a sermon on the "Character and Genius of the Christian Religion" that "the Gospel has no enthusiasm." He was not using the word, of course, in its slipshod modern meaning, but in that of mystical fervour. The mystical was to Sydney Smith a sealed book, a thing to be feared, hated, mocked at. The past he looked upon "as so much dirty linen," to be thrown on one side. Among the things of the past are Bethlehem and Calvary, and that doctrine of the Cross which Mr. Russell is constrained to remark seems to have been "quite alien from Sydney Smith's system of religion." Some of his sayings are grossly profane—as when he talks of "chewing a spiritual nature in crumpets." But Mr. Russell will find that it is holy water, not the laver of regeneration, which he describes as the "sanctified contents of the pump."

On the other hand, Sydney Smith devoted every power he possessed to a cause which he believed had the Supreme Being behind it. "If," he said, "you ask me who excites me, I answer you, it is that Judge who stirs good thoughts in honest hearts, under whose warrant I impeach the wrong and by whose help I hope to chastise it." "May the same God," he wrote, "take this unworthy life away whenever I shrink from the contempt and misrepresentation to which my duty shall call me to submit." He was not conscientiously and intentionally heterodox, and told Jeffrey that he would write no more for the *Edinburgh Review* if it continued to "encourage infidel and anti-Christian principles." He would have accepted any English bishoprick offered to him, and considered the Whigs, whom he had served so ably, were shabby and ungrateful in only giving him a "snug" canonry and £2,000 a year. *Noluit non episcopari.* But he would have declined to become the angel of the Church of Laodicea. Smith made no pretences to asceticism or spirituality, loving "soft beds, good dinners and fine linen," and said honestly, "I have been happier every guinea I have gained." He defended (and practised) clerical non-residence and pluralities, objected to the

nave of St. Paul's being open to the public free of charge, and upheld a lottery system of blanks and prizes for ecclesiastical preferment in a modern Establishment. In many ways he was a frank worldling, as well as a professed Philistine. Bishop Horsley's complaint that Christian priests whose office was to publish the word of reconciliation through the Blood of Christ were content to deliver moral essays applied to Sydney Smith, though he was no "ape of Epictetus." But his Georgianism was at least not of the old lax and lurdane type. He told Gladstone, in 1835, "Whenever you meet a clergyman of my age, you may be sure he is a bad clergyman." And he justly resented Bishop Moule's remark that he had got his Canonry, not by piety and learning, but by scoffing and jesting. His daughter, Lady Holland, says that "on entering the pulpit the calm dignity of his eye, mien and voice made one feel that he was indeed, and felt himself to be, 'the pastor standing between our God and His people,' to teach His laws, to declare His judgments, and to proclaim His mercies."

Still, it was something worse than unprofessionalism which from the pulpit of St. Paul's could assign the *Nunc Dimittis*—as is done at the end of the subjoined sermon—to "the Psalmist." In the third edition, which lies before me, the mistake stands uncorrected. Croker, in the *Quarterly*, attacking the lecturing tone of the sermon, asked: "What can we think of the fitness of a man to address his Queen and country in this dogmatical strain who does not know the New Testament from the Old, the Psalms from the Gospel, David from Simeon?" In 1837 the Ecclesiastical Commission had lately come into being, and was threatening Sydney Smith's ideal of plums and unbeneficed hopings. "What cathedral are we pulling down to-day?" was said to be the standing question at its meetings. It is amusing some months later to find him exclaiming—"What a prelude for the young Queen's coronation! What a medal for the august ceremony: the fallen Gothic buildings on one side of the gold, on the other

'Victoria Ecclesiæ Victrix'! And then, when she is full of noble devices, and of all sorts enchantingly beloved, and amid the solemn swell of music, when her heart beats happily and her eyes look majesty, she turns them on the degraded ministers of the Gospel, and shudders to see she is stalking to the throne of her Protestant ancestors over the broken altars of God."

It has interested me to turn from Sydney Smith's sermon on the Accession of Queen Victoria to one preached sixty-three years later in the same place, by another brilliant Canon of St. Paul's, Henry Scott Holland, also a social reformer, on the Patriot Queen's death. One passage, looking back to 1837, may be here quoted—could two styles be more unlike?

"A girl's vow! Never before has so great an achievement on the high levels of history been won by means so simple and so pure. If we but think for a moment to what abasement and contempt the Crown of England had sunk when she undertook its responsibilities! No one knew what was coming, but everyone feared the worst. Every institution seemed to be tottering. No reverence shielded conventional traditions. A senile decay had crept over the honour of government. Under men's feet were felt the unknown volcanic tremors of revolutionary panic. And yet, remember, it was the great hour of our Imperial expansion which was opening; and, by a terrible fatality, at the centre of the Empire, there where strength was vitally needed to secure coherence and unity of sentiment all over the vast outgrowth, the throne had exhibited a melancholy succession of madness and vice and folly. And it was at such a moment of dreadful menace, when men's hearts were failing them for fear and for looking to those things that are coming on the earth, that there stepped out into the open arena to challenge England's fate and her own, an untried, inexperienced, innocent child of eighteen. And in the long years which have intervened she made the Throne, which was then tottering to its fall in ignominy and scorn, the

most powerful of living institutions, the soul of a great Empire."[1]

This sermon fitly follows the tragic one before it.

A Patriot Queen

Oh King, thy Kingdom is departed from thee.—Daniel iv, 31.

I do not think I am getting out of the fair line of duty of a Minister of the Gospel if, at the beginning of a new reign, I take a short review of the moral and religious state of the country, and point out what those topics are which deserve the most serious consideration of a wise and a Christian people.

The death of a King is always an awful lesson to mankind; and it produces a more solemn pause, and creates more profound reflexion, than the best lessons of the best teachers.

From the throne to the tomb—wealth, splendour, flattery, all gone! The look of favour, the voice of power, no more; the deserted palace, the wretched monarch on his funeral bier, the mourners ready, the dismal march of death prepared. Who are we, and what are we? And for what has God made us? And why are we doomed to this frail and unquiet existence? Who does not feel all this? In whose heart does it not provoke appeal to, and dependence on, God? Before whose eyes does it not bring the folly and the nothingness of all things human?

But a good King must not go to his grave without that reverence from the people which his virtues deserved. And I will state to you what those virtues were, state it to you honestly and fairly; for I should heartily despise myself if from this chair of truth I could utter one word of panegyric of the great men of the earth which I could not aver before the throne of God.

The late Monarch, whose loss we have to deplore, was sincere and honest in his political relations; he put his trust really where he put his trust ostensibly, and did not attempt to undermine, by secret means, those to whom he trusted publicly the conduct of affairs. And I must beg to remind you that no vice and no virtue are indifferent in a monarch; human beings are very imitative; there is a fashion in the higher qualities of our minds, as there is in the lesser considerations of life. It is by no means indifferent to the morals of

[1] "*In Memoriam* Queen Victoria"; printed first in *Personal Studies*.

the people at large whether a tricking, perfidious King is placed on the throne of these realms, or whether the sceptre is swayed by one of plain and manly character, walking ever in a straight line, on the firm ground of truth, under the searching eye of God.

The late King was of a sweet and Christian disposition; he did not treasure up little animosities, and indulge in vindictive feelings; he had no enemies but the enemies of the country; he did not make the memory of a King a fountain of wrath; the feelings of the individual (where they required any controul) were in perfect subjection to the just conception he had formed of his high duties; and every one near him found it was a government of principle, and not of temper, not of caprice, not of malice couching in high places and watching an opportunity of springing on its victim.

Our late Monarch had the good nature of Christianity; he loved the happiness of all the individuals about him, and never lost an opportunity of promoting it; and where the heart is good, and the mind active, and the means ample, this makes a luminous and beautiful life, which gladdens the nations, and leads them, and turns men to the exercise of virtue, and the great work of Salvation.

We may honestly say of our late Sovereign that he loved his country, and was sensibly alive to its glory and its happiness. When he entered into his palaces he did not say, "All this is my birthright: I am entitled to it—it is my due—how can I gain more splendour? how can I increase all the pleasures of the senses?" but he looked upon it all as a memorial that he was to repay by example, by attention, and by watchfulness over the public interests, the affectionate and lavish expenditure of his subjects; and this was not a decision of reason, but a feeling which hurried him away. Whenever it was pointed out to him that England could be made more rich, or more happy, or rise higher in the scale of nations, or be better guided in the straight path of the Christian faith, on all such occasions he rose above himself; there was a warmth and a truth and an honesty which it was impossible to mistake; the gates of his heart were flung open, and that heart throbbed and beat for the land which his ancestors had rescued from slavery and governed with justice. But he is gone—and let fools praise conquerors, and say the great Napoleon pulled down this

kingdom and destroyed that army, we will thank God for a King who has derived his quiet glory from the peace of his realm, and who has founded his own happiness upon the happiness of his people.

But the world passes on, and a new order of things arises. Let us take a short view of those duties which devolve upon the young Queen whom Providence has placed over us—what ideas she ought to form of her duties, and on what points she should endeavour to place the glories of her reign.

First and foremost, I think, the new Queen should bend her mind to the very serious consideration of educating the people. Of the importance of this I think no reasonable doubt can exist; it does not in its effects keep pace with the exaggerated expectations of its injudicious advocates, but it presents the best chance of national improvement.

Reading and writing are mere increase of power. They may be turned, I admit, to a good or a bad purpose; but for several years of his life the child is in your hands, and you may give to that power what bias you please: thou shalt not kill—thou shalt not steal—thou shalt not bear false witness;—by how many fables, by how much poetry, by how many beautiful aids of imagination, may not the fine morality of the Sacred Scriptures be engraven on the minds of the young? I believe the arm of the assassin may be often stayed by the lessons of his early life. When I see the village school, and the tattered scholars, and the aged master or mistress teaching the mechanical art of reading or writing, and thinking that they are teaching that alone, I feel that the aged instructor is protecting life, insuring property, fencing the altar, guarding the throne, giving space and liberty to all the fine powers of man, and lifting him up to his own place in the order of Creation.

There are, I am sorry to say, many countries in Europe which have taken the lead of England in the great business of education, and it is a thoroughly commendable and legitimate object of ambition in a Sovereign to overtake them. The names, too, of malefactors, and the nature of their crimes, are subjected to the Sovereign;—how is it possible that a Sovereign, with the fine feelings of youth, and with all the gentleness of her sex, should not ask herself, whether the human being whom she dooms to death, or at least does not rescue from

death, has been properly warned in early youth of the horrors of that crime for which his life is forfeited? "Did he ever receive any education at all?—did a father and mother watch over him?—was he brought to places of worship?—was the Word of God explained to him?—was the book of knowledge opened to him? Or am I, the fountain of mercy, the nursing-mother of my people, to send a forsaken wretch from the streets to the scaffold, and to prevent by unprincipled cruelty the evils of unprincipled neglect?"

Many of the objections found against the general education of the people are utterly untenable. Where all are educated, education cannot be a source of distinction, and a subject for pride. The great source of labour is want; and as long as the necessities of life call for labour labour is sure to be supplied. All these fears are foolish and imaginary; the great use and the great importance of education properly conducted is, that it creates a great bias in favour of virtue and religion at a period of life when the mind is open to all the impressions which superior wisdom may choose to affix upon it; the sum and mass of these tendencies and inclinations make a good and virtuous people, and draw down upon us the blessing and protection of Almighty God.

A second great object which I hope will be impressed upon the mind of this Royal Lady is a rooted horror of war—an earnest and passionate desire to keep her people in a state of profound peace. The greatest curse which can be entailed upon mankind is a state of war. All the atrocious crimes committed in years of peace, all that is spent in peace by the secret corruptions, or by the thoughtless extravagance, of nations, are mere trifles compared with the gigantic evils which stalk over the world in a state of war. God is forgotten in war—every principle of Christian charity trampled upon—human labour destroyed—human industry extinguished. You see the son and the husband and the brother dying miserably in distant lands—you see the waste of human affections—you see the breaking of human hearts—you hear the shrieks of widows and children after the battle—and you walk over the mangled bodies of the wounded calling for death. I would say to that Royal child, Worship God, by loving peace. It is not *your* humanity to pity a beggar by giving him food or raiment—*I* can do that; that is the charity of the humble,

and the unknown. Widen you your heart for the more expanded miseries of mankind—pity the mothers of the peasantry who see their sons torn away from their families—pity your poor subjects crowded into hospitals, and calling in their last breath upon their distant country and their young Queen—pity the stupid, frantic folly of human beings who are always ready to tear each other to pieces, and to deluge the earth with each other's blood ; this is your extended humanity, and this the great field of your compassion. Extinguish in your heart the fiendish love of military glory, from which your sex does not necessarily exempt you, and to which the wickedness of flatterers may urge you. Say upon your death-bed, " I have made few orphans in my reign—I have made few widows—my object has been peace. I have used all the weight of my character, and all the power of my situation, to check the irascible passions of mankind, and to turn them to the arts of honest industry : this has been the Christianity of my throne, and this the gospel of my sceptre ; in this way I have strove to worship my Redeemer and my Judge."

I would add (if any addition were wanted as a part of the lesson to youthful royalty) the utter folly of all wars of ambition, where the object sought for—if attained at all—is commonly attained at manifold its real value, and often wrested, after short enjoyment, from its possessor, by the combined indignation and just vengeance of the other nations of the world. It is all misery, and folly, and impiety, and cruelty. The atrocities, the horrors and disgusts of war have never been half enough insisted upon by the teachers of the people ; but the worst of evils and the greatest of follies have been varnished over with specious names, and the gigantic robbers and murderers of the world have been holden up, for their imitation, to the weak eyes of youth. May honest counsellors keep this poison from the mind of the young Queen. May she love what God bids, and do what makes men happy !

I hope the Queen will love the National Church, and protect it ; but it must be impressed upon her mind that every sect of Christians have as perfect right to the free exercise of their worship as the Church itself—that there must be no invasion of the privileges of other sects, and no contemptuous disrespect of their feelings—that the altar is the very ark and citadel of freedom.

Some persons represent old age as miserable, because it brings with it the pains and infirmities of the body ; but what gratification to the mind may not old age bring with it in this country of wise and rational improvement ? I have lived to see the immense improvements of the Church of England—all its powers of persecution destroyed, its monopoly of civil offices expunged from the book of the law, and all its unjust and exclusive immunities levelled to the ground. The Church of England is now a rational object of love and admiration—it is perfectly compatible with civil freedom—it is an institution for worshipping God, and not a cover for gratifying secular insolence, and ministering to secular ambition. It will be the duty of those to whom the sacred trust of instructing our youthful Queen is intrusted to lead her attention to these great improvements in our religious establishment ; and to show to her how possible, and how wise, it is to render the solid advantages of a national Church compatible with the civil rights of those who cannot assent to its doctrines.

Then again, our youthful Ruler must be very slow to believe all the exaggerated and violent abuse which religious sects indulge in against each other. She will find, for instance, that the Catholics, the great object of our horror and aversion, have (mistaken as they are) a great deal more to say in defence of their tenets than those imagine who indulge more in the luxury of invective than in the labour of inquiry—she will find in that sect, men as enlightened, talents as splendid, and probity as firm, as in our own Church ; and she will soon learn to appreciate, at its just value, that exaggerated hatred of sects which paints the Catholic faith (the religion of two-thirds of Europe) as utterly incompatible with the safety, peace and order of the world.

It will be a sad vexation to all loyal hearts, and to all rationally pious minds, if our Sovereign should fall into the common error of mistaking fanaticism for religion, and in this way fling an air of discredit upon real devotion. It is, I am afraid, unquestionably the fault of the age, her youth and her sex do not make it more improbable, and the warmest efforts of that description of persons will not be wanting to gain over a convert so illustrious, and so important. Should this take place, the consequences will be serious and distressing—the land will be inundated with hypocrisy—absurdity will be heaped

upon absurdity—there will be a race of folly and extravagance for royal favour, and he who is farthest from reason will make the nearest approach to distinction : and then follow the usual consequences—a weariness and disgust of religion itself, and the foundation laid for an age of impiety and infidelity. Those, then, to whom these matters are delegated will watch carefully over every sign of this excess, and guard from the mischievous intemperance of enthusiasm those feelings, and that understanding, the healthy state of which bears so strongly and intimately upon the happiness of a whole people.

Though I deprecate the bad effects of fanaticism, I earnestly pray that our young Sovereign may evince herself to be a person of deep religious feeling : what other cure has she for all the arrogance and vanity which her exalted position must engender ? for all the flattery and falsehood with which she must be surrounded ? for all the soul-corrupting homage with which she is met at every moment of her existence ? what other cure than to cast herself down in darkness and solitude before God—to say that she is dust and ashes—and to call down the piety of the Almighty upon her difficult and dangerous life ? This is the antidote of kings against the slavery and the baseness which surround them : they should think often of death, and the folly and nothingness of the world, and they should humble their souls before the Master of masters, and the King of kings ; praying to Heaven for wisdom, and calm reflexion, and for that spirit of Christian gentleness which exalts command in an empire of justice, and turns obedience into a service of love.

A wise man struggling with adversity is said by some heathen writer to be a spectacle on which the gods might look down with pleasure : but where is there a finer moral and religious picture, or one more deserving of Divine favour, than that of which, perhaps, we are now beginning to enjoy the blessed reality ?

A young Queen, at that period of life which is commonly given up to frivolous amusement, sees at once the great principles by which she should be guided, and steps at once into the great duties of her station. The importance of educating the lower orders of the people is never absent from her mind ; she takes up this principle at the beginning of her life, and in all the change of servants, and in all the struggle of parties, looks

to it as a source of permanent improvement. A great object of her affections is the preservation of peace; she regards a state of war as the greatest of all human evils; thinks that the lust of conquest is not a glory, but a bad crime; despises the folly and miscalculations of war, and is willing to sacrifice every thing to peace but the clear honour of her land.

The patriot Queen, whom I am painting, reverences the National Church—frequents its worship, and regulates her faith by its precepts; but she withstands the encroachments, and keeps down the ambition, natural to establishments, and by rendering the privileges of the Church compatible with the civil freedom of all sects, confers strength upon, and adds duration to, that wise and magnificent institution. And then this youthful Monarch, profoundly, but wisely religious, disdaining hypocrisy, and far above the childish follies of false piety, casts herself upon God, and seeks from the Gospel of his blessed Son a path for her steps, and a comfort for her soul. Here is a picture which warms every English heart, and would bring all this congregation upon their bended knees before Almighty God to pray it may be realised. What limits to the glory and happiness of our native land, if the Creator should in his mercy have placed in the heart of this Royal woman the rudiments of wisdom and mercy; and if, giving them time to expand, and to bless our children's children with her goodness, He should grant to her a long sojourning upon earth, and leave her to reign over us till she is well stricken in years? What glory! what happiness! what joy! what bounty of God! I of course can only expect to see the beginning of such a splendid period; but when I do see it, I shall exclaim with the Psalmist,—"Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

JOHN KEBLE (1792-1866)

A STRANGE juxtaposition—the poet of the pensive and devout *Christian Year* next to the author of the rollicking satire of the *Plymley Letters*, and the austere, seer-like sermon on National Apostasy next to the one just printed! The Reform Bill, indeed, once enacted, Sydney Smith, in his St. Paul's stall, had become curiously conservative, talked of "sudden and foolish largesses of power to the people," of the nation "hurrying on through all the well-known steps to anarchy," of anti-clerical excesses, and how, though "a thousand years have scarce sufficed to make our blessed England what it is, an hour may lay it in the dust." [1] He was especially incensed with the levelling proceedings of the new Ecclesiastical Commission, and the way in which the "heads of the Church placed themselves at the head of the mob." But this was an elderly politician's chagrined disillusionment, not that fiery challenge of outraged faith which cried :—

> "Let us depart and leave the apostate land
> To meet the rising whirlwind as she may,
> Without her guardian angels and her God."

"Fiery words like these," says Dr. Scott Holland, "roused the slumbering Church, at the moment when the Whig reformers, the types in statesmanship of all that was secular and superficial and unreverential in the 'march of mind,' were undertaking to set the Bishops' houses in order for them, and to carry out utilitarian improvements in the Church's system, according to the mind of Erastianism and by the power of Parliament. . . . To realize the general despair about the Church that was shaking men's souls in 1832, it is good to glance through a book like the *Greville Memoirs*, in which a

[1] The national situation may be gauged by Earl Grey's words in the Upper House on May 7, 1832 :—"I do not like in this free country to use the word 'Monarchy.'"

man of the world records his profound sense of the imminent ruin that threatens Church and State ; or to read the petitions and declarations of the early Irvingite movement, in which spiritual men sent out their cry of desperate dismay, to show why they could only hope for some new outpouring of the Spirit into a new Apostolate and a new Catholic Body." [1]

The general aim of that Tractarian movement which Newman always dated from the preaching of the subjoined Sermon, on July 14, 1833—a day kept sacred by him—was, in Professor Scott Holland's words :—

" To show that the Catholic Church established in England was not the commonplace, snug, prosaic affair which contemptuous Whigs imagined that they could handle as they chose. She could appeal to the imagination, the conscience and the heart. She had in her the secret of romance, the charm of antiquity, the weight of historic authority, the pathos of a troubled and a stormy past, the beauty of a venerable martyr, the honour, the majesty, the radiance of the Church of Christ, against which no gates of Hell should e'er prevail. Hers was a kingdom, real, strong and living, which could hold its own against the presence of all the rising kingdoms of the world. The *Lyra Apostolica* is the record of the Tractarians' great and fiery passion.

" The timidity of the faithless must be scorned into recovery of the full splendours of the Church which they would betray. Far from conceding this and yielding that, every claim of hers must be asserted in its paramount validity, every honourable endowment of hers must be boldly proclaimed, all her terror must be rigorously upheld. She must come forth in her comeliness, in her majesty, in her strength, beautiful as an army with banners, rejoicing as the sun to run her course. Not by minimizing her creed, but by magnifying her name, is the peril to be repelled and the day to be saved." [2]

[1] *The Mission of the Oxford Movement* in " Personal Studies," pp. 82, 83.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 89.

But the immediate occasion of this sermon, and of the launching of the long-gathering movement, was political. In 1833 the Reformed Parliament had met, and had at once laid hands on the Church. To ourselves the suppression of the ten Irish bishopricks and two of the four archbishopricks may seem to have been a reasonable reform, though it should have proceeded from the Church, not the State. The Ecclesiastical Commission, threatened in 1833 and created in 1836, has come to be looked on as a milch cow for the needs generally of the Church. The Liberal line of thought to-day is thin, cheap, anti-doctrinal and almost Unitarian, or at least pantheistic, but not directly irreligious or sadducean. But a large view must be taken of that reign of William IV, which in one sense was so "unidea'd," but in another was an Armageddon of passionately conflicting conceptions, a stricken field between the forces of utilitarianism and romanticism, of rights of man and authority of God, of latitudinarianism and definite creed. That mixture of Bentham politics and Paley deism, of materialism and revolt, which the Tracts called "the shallow and detestable Liberalism of the day" and identified with the forerunner of Antichrist, was not only a blighting, deadening and palsying influence, but directly aimed at destroying the character of the Church as a Divine and supernatural institution, the revealed way of eternal life, and making it, its "monkish rookeries" pulled down, the creature of a de-Christianized Parliament. Still, it was less by aggressive design than Erastian instinct that in the same session of 1833 the Privy Council was made the supreme court of appeal in spiritual causes.

Keble and his friends were lovers of Christ's poor and haters of abuses. Also, of course, they were not clinging to antiquated privileges or mere "possessions" for the Church. At this time—though not afterwards—they spoke much of apostolic poverty, and sternly demanded that the Church should be set free "from such a State." In February Keble

had written: "I suppose there can be no doubt that the die of separation is now cast." A year before he had said it behoved Churchmen to "consider how they may continue their communion with the Church established, without any taint of those Erastian principles on which she is now avowedly governed." The Tract-writers spoke scornfully of a secularized Conservatism, in league with the world. "The vital question," said Newman, "was, how were to keep the Church from being liberalized." But it was not to be by help of the two-bottle orthodox and the political "friends of Baal," the tools of "robbers of shrines" and of that

"Ruffian band,
Come to reform where ne'er they came to pray."

Newman, in the summer of 1833, was at Rome, where he had started the *Lyra Apostolica*. He was full of "fierce thoughts against the Liberals." "We have a work to do in England," he gravely said, in quitting the Eternal City. In Sicily he was struck down by fever, but he said, "I shall not die." His servant found him sobbing on his bed and asked what ailed him. "I could only answer him, 'I have a work to do in England.'" In the orange-boat, all too slowly threading the Straits of Bonifacio, he wrote, "Lead, kindly light." But the first blow was not to be struck by him. "Exoriare aliquis," he had been praying, and had heard in Rome, "Keble is at length roused, and, if once up, will prove a second St. Ambrose." On July 9, Newman and Hurrell Froude, travelling night and day, landed in England. And the following Sunday, July 14, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, Keble preached in the University Church at Oxford, before the Judges of Assize, the momentous sermon which was published a fortnight later under the title, "National Apostasy." The Bishopricks Bill passed a few days later. On July 25 the Hadleigh Conference began, and the Tractarian Movement, the aim of which was to recapture England for the Faith, entered the slips upon its great voyage, wherein it now

lies somewhat becalmed, half triumphant and half baffled. The first of the Tracts appeared on September 9, 1833. In it the apostolic Episcopate was adjured to accept, if need be, the spoiling of goods and martyrdom.

In those first days Apostolical and Evangelical were at one. The foe was the Spirit of the Age. The success of the Movement, Jowett has said, was due to its spirit of disinterested unworldliness. There were no snug canonries, still less purple place and power, for the preacher of the following sermon and his friends, to whom Arnold in his article on "The Oxford Malignants," attributed "moral wickedness." Carlyle considered that Keble had "the brain of a rabbit." The words of the text are Samuel's to his countrymen, when they renounced their theocracy and took a ruler such as the Gentiles had.

Advertisement to the First Edition of the Sermon on National Apostasy.

SINCE the following pages were prepared for the press, the calamity, in anticipation of which they were written, has actually overtaken this portion of the Church of God. The Legislature of England and Ireland, (*the members of which are not even bound to profess belief in the Atonement,*) this body has virtually usurped the commission of those whom our Saviour entrusted with *at least one voice* in making ecclesiastical laws on matters wholly or partly spiritual. The same legislature has also ratified, to its full extent, this principle; —that the Apostolical Church in this realm is henceforth only to stand, in the eye of the State, as *one sect among many*, depending, for any pre-eminence she may still appear to retain, merely upon the accident of her having a strong party in the country.

It is a moment, surely, full of deep solicitude to all those members of the Church who still believe her authority divine, and the oaths and obligations, by which they are bound to her, undissolved and undissoluble by calculations of human expediency. Their anxiety turns not so much on the consequences, to the State, of what has been done, (*they* are but too evident,) as on the line of conduct which they are bound themselves to pursue. How may they continue their

communion with the Church *established*, (hitherto the pride and comfort of their lives,) without any taint of those Erastian principles on which she is now avowedly to be governed? What answer can we make henceforth to the partisans of the Bishop of Rome, when they taunt us with being a mere Parliamentarian Church? And how, consistently with our present relations to the State, can even the doctrinal purity and integrity of the MOST SACRED ORDER be preserved?

The attention of all who love the Church is most earnestly solicited to these questions. They are such, it will be observed, as cannot be answered by appealing to precedents in English History, because, at most, such could only shew, the difficulty might have been raised before. It is believed, that there are hundreds, nay thousands of Christians, and that soon there will be tens of thousands, unaffectedly anxious to be rightly guided with regard to these and similar points. And they are mooted thus publicly, for the chance of eliciting from competent judges a correct and early opinion.

If, under such trying and delicate circumstances, one could venture to be positive about any thing, it would seem safe to say that, in such measure as it may be thought incumbent on the Church, or on Churchmen, to submit to any profane intrusion, it must at least be their sacred duty to declare, promulgate and record their full conviction that it *is* intrusion, that they yield to it as they might to any other tyranny, but do from their hearts deprecate and abjure it. This seems the least that can be done: unless we would have our children's children say, "There was once here a glorious Church, but it was betrayed into the hands of Libertines for the real or affected love of a little temporary peace and good order."

July 22, 1833.

NATIONAL APOSTASY

As for me, God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for you: but I will teach you the good and the right way.—1 SAMUEL xii, 23.

On public occasions, such as the present, the minds of Christians naturally revert to that portion of Holy Scripture which exhibits to us the will of the Sovereign of the world in more immediate relation to the civil and national conduct of mankind. We naturally turn to the Old Testament, when public duties, public errors and public dangers are in question.

And what in such cases is natural and obvious, is sure to be more or less right and reasonable. Unquestionably it is a mistaken theology which would debar Christian nations and statesmen from the instruction afforded by the Jewish Scriptures, under a notion that the circumstances of that people were altogether peculiar and unique, and therefore irrelevant to every other case. True, there is hazard of misapplication, as there is whenever men teach by example. There is peculiar hazard from the sacredness and delicacy of the subject; since dealing with things supernatural and miraculous as if they were ordinary human precedents would be not only unwise, but profane. But these hazards are more than counterbalanced by the absolute certainty, peculiar to this history, that what is there commended was right, and what is there blamed, wrong. And they would be effectually obviated if men would be careful to keep in view this caution—suggested every where, if I mistake not, by the manner in which the Old Testament is quoted in the New—that, as regards reward and punishment, God dealt formerly with the Jewish people in a manner analogous to that in which he deals now, not so much with Christian nations, as with the souls of individual Christians.

Let us only make due allowances for this cardinal point of difference, and we need not surely hesitate to avail ourselves, as the time may require, of those national warnings which fill the records of the elder Church: the less so as the discrepancy lies rather in what is revealed of God's providence than in what is required in the way of human duty. Rewards and punishments may be dispensed, visibly at least, with a less even hand; but what tempers, and what conduct, God will ultimately reward and punish—this is a point which cannot be changed: for it depends not on our circumstances, but on His essential, unvarying Attributes.

I have ventured on these few general observations, because the impatience with which the world endures any remonstrance on religious grounds, is apt to shew itself most daringly when the Law and the Prophets are appealed to. Without any scruple or ceremony, men give us to understand that they regard the whole as obsolete: thus taking the very opposite ground to that which was preferred by the same class of persons two hundred years ago; but, it may be feared, with much the

same purpose and result. Then, the Old Testament was quoted at random for every excess of fanatical pride and cruelty: now, its authority goes for nothing, however clear and striking the analogies may be, which appear to warrant us in referring to it. The two extremes, as usual, meet, and in this very remarkable point: that they both avail themselves of the supernatural parts of the Jewish revelation to turn away attention from that which they, of course, most dread and dislike in it: its authoritative confirmation of the plain dictates of conscience in matters of civil wisdom and duty.

That portion, in particular, of the history of the chosen people which drew from Samuel, the truest of patriots, the wise and noble sentiment in the text, must ever be an unpleasing and perplexing page of Scripture to those who would fain persuade themselves that a nation, even a Christian nation, may do well enough, as such, without God, and without His Church. For what if the Jews were bound to the Almighty by ties common to no other people? What if He had condescended to know them in a way in which He was as yet unrevealed to all families of the earth besides? What if, as their relation to Him was nearer, and their ingratitude more surpassing, so they might expect more exemplary punishment? Still, after all has been said, to exaggerate their guilt, in degree, beyond what is supposed possible in any nation whatever now, what can it come to, in kind and in substance, but only this;—that they rejected God? that they wished themselves rid of the moral restraint implied in His peculiar presence and covenant? They said, what the prophet Ezekiel long after represents their worthy posterity as saying, "We will be as the heathen, the families of the countries." "Once for all, we will get rid of these disagreeable, unfashionable scruples, which throw us behind, as we think, in the race of worldly honour and profit." Is this indeed a tone of thought, which Christian nations cannot fall into? Or, if they should, has it ceased to be displeasing to God? In other words, has He forgotten to be angry with impiety and practical atheism? Either this must be affirmed, or men must own (what is clear at once to plain unsophisticated readers) that this first overt act, which began the downfall of the Jewish nation, stands on record, with its fatal consequences, for a perpetual warning to all nations, as well as to all individual Christians, who, having

accepted God for their King, allow themselves to be weary of subjection to Him, and think they should be happier if they were freer, and more like the rest of the world.

I do not enter into the question whether visible temporal judgments are to be looked for by Christian nations, transgressing as those Jews did. Surely common sense and piety unite in representing this inquiry as, practically, one of no great importance. When it is once known for certain that such and such conduct is displeasing to the King of kings, surely common sense and piety concur in setting their mark of reprobation on such conduct, whether the punishment, sure to overtake it, come to-morrow, or a year hence, or wait till we are in another world.

Waiving this question, therefore, I proceed to others, which appear to me, I own, at the present moment especially, of the gravest practical import.

What are the symptoms, by which one may judge most fairly, whether or no a nation, as such, is becoming alienated from God and Christ?

And what are the particular duties of sincere Christians, whose lot is cast by Divine Providence in a time of such dire calamity?

The conduct of the Jews, in asking for a king, may furnish an ample illustration of the first point: the behaviour of Samuel, then and afterwards, supplies as perfect a pattern of the second as can well be expected from human nature.

I. The case is at least possible of a nation, having for centuries acknowledged, as an essential part of its theory of government, that, as a Christian nation, she is also a part of Christ's Church, and bound, in all her legislation and policy, by the fundamental rules of that Church: the case is, I say, conceivable, of a government and people, so constituted, deliberately throwing off the restraint which in many respects such a principle would impose on them, nay, disavowing the principle itself; and that on the plea that other states, as flourishing or more so in regard of wealth and dominion, do well enough without it. Is not this desiring, like the Jews, to have an earthly king over them, when the Lord their God is their King? Is it not saying in other words, "We will be as the heathen, the families of the countries," the aliens to the Church of our Redeemer?

To such a change, whenever it takes place, the immediate impulse will probably be given by some pretence of danger from without—such as, at the time now spoken of, was furnished to the Israelites by an incursion of the children of Ammon—or by some wrong or grievance in the executive government, such as the malversation of Samuel's sons, to whom he had deputed his judicial functions. Pretences will never be hard to find ; but, in reality, the movement will always be traceable to the same decay or want of faith, the same deficiency in Christian resignation and thankfulness, which leads so many, as individuals, to disdain and forfeit the blessings of the Gospel. Men not impressed with religious principle attribute their ill success in life—the hard times they have to struggle with—to any thing rather than their own ill-desert : and the institutions of the country, ecclesiastical and civil, are always at hand to bear the blame of whatever seems to be going amiss. Thus, the discontent in Samuel's time which led the Israelites to demand a change of constitution was discerned by the Unerring Eye, though perhaps little suspected by themselves, to be no better than a fresh development of the same restless, Godless spirit, which had led them so often into idolatry. "They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected Me, that I should not reign over them. According to all the works which they have done since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt even unto this day, wherewith they have forsaken Me, and served other gods, so do they also unto thee."

The charge might perhaps surprise many of them, just as, in other times and countries, the impatient patrons of innovation are surprised at finding themselves rebuked on religious grounds. Perhaps the Jews pleaded the express countenance which the words of their Law, in one place, seemed, by anticipation, to lend to the measure they were urging. And so, in modern times, when liberties are to be taken, and the intrusive passions of men to be indulged, precedent and permission, or what sounds like them, may be easily found and quoted for every thing. But Samuel, in God's name, silenced all this, giving them to understand that in His sight the whole was a question of motive and purpose, not of ostensible and colourable argument—in His sight, I say, to Whom we, as well as they, are nationally responsible for much more than the soundness of our deductions as matter of disputation, or of

law ; we are responsible for the meaning and temper in which we deal with His Holy Church, established among us for the salvation of our souls.

These, which have been hitherto mentioned as omens and tokens of an Apostate Mind in a nation, have been suggested by the portion itself of sacred history to which I have ventured to direct your attention. There are one or two more which the nature of the subject, and the palpable tendency of things around us, will not allow to be passed over.

One of the most alarming, as a symptom, is the growing indifference, in which men indulge themselves, to other men's religious sentiments. Under the guise of charity and toleration we are come almost to this pass ; that no difference in matters of faith is to disqualify for our approbation and confidence, whether in public or domestic life. Can we conceal it from ourselves, that every year the practice is becoming more common of trusting men unreservedly in the most delicate and important matters, without one serious inquiry whether they do not hold principles which make it impossible for them to be loyal to their Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier ? Are not offices conferred, partnerships formed, intimacies courted, nay (what is almost too painful to think of) do not parents commit their children to be educated, do not they encourage them to intermarry, in houses on which Apostolical Authority would rather teach them to set a mark, as unfit to be entered by a faithful servant of Christ ?

I do not speak of public measures only or chiefly ; many things of that kind may be thought, whether wise or no, to become from time to time necessary, which are in reality as little desired by those who lend them a seeming concurrence as they are, in themselves, undesirable. But I speak of the spirit which leads men to exult in every step of that kind ; to congratulate one another on the supposed decay of what they call an exclusive system.

Very different are the feelings with which it seems natural for a true Churchman to regard such a state of things from those which would arise in his mind on witnessing the mere triumph of any given set of adverse opinions, exaggerated or even heretical as he might deem them. He might feel as melancholy—he could hardly feel so indignant.

But this is not a becoming place, nor are these safe topics,

for the indulgence of mere feeling. The point to be really considered is, whether, according to the coolest estimate, the fashionable liberality of this generation be not ascribable, in a great measure, to the same temper which led the Jews voluntarily to set about degrading themselves to a level with the idolatrous Gentiles? And, if it be true any where, that such enactments are forced on the Legislature by public opinion, is APOSTASY too hard a word to describe the temper of that nation?

The same tendency is still more apparent, because the fair gloss of candour and forbearance is wanting, in the surly or scornful impatience often exhibited by persons who would regret passing for unbelievers, when Christian motives are suggested, and checks from Christian principles attempted to be enforced on their public conduct. I say, "their public conduct," more especially; because in that, I know not how, persons are apt to be more shameless, and readier to avow the irreligion that is in them—amongst other reasons, probably, from each feeling that he is one of a multitude, and fancying, therefore, that his responsibility is divided.

For example:—whatever be the cause, in this country of late years (though we are lavish in professions of piety) there has been observable a growing disinclination, on the part of those bound by VOLUNTARY OATHS, to whatever reminds them of their obligation; a growing disposition to explain it all away. We know what, some years ago, would have been thought of such uneasiness, if betrayed by persons officially sworn, in private, legal or commercial life. If there be any subjects or occasions, now, on which men are inclined to judge of it more lightly, it concerns them deeply to be quite sure that they are not indulging or encouraging a profane dislike of God's awful Presence; a general tendency, as a people, to leave Him out of all their thoughts.

They will have the more reason to suspect themselves, in proportion as they see and feel more of that impatience under pastoral authority which our Saviour Himself has taught us to consider as a never-failing symptom of an unchristian temper. "He that heareth you, heareth Me; and he that despiseth you despiseth Me." Those words of divine truth put beyond all sophistical exception, what common sense would lead us to infer, and what daily experience teaches,

that disrespect to the Successors of the Apostles, as such, is an unquestionable system of enmity to Him who gave them their commission at first, and has pledged Himself to be with them for ever. Suppose such disrespect general and national, suppose it also avowedly grounded not on any fancied tenet of religion, but on mere human reasons of popularity and expediency, either there is no meaning at all in these emphatic declarations of our Lord, or that nation, how highly soever she may think of her own religion and morality, stands convicted in His sight of a direct disavowal of His Sovereignty.

To this purpose it may be worth noticing that the ill-fated chief whom God gave to the Jews, as the prophet tells us, in His anger, and whose disobedience and misery were referred by himself to his "fearing the people, and obeying their voice," whose conduct, therefore, may be fairly taken as a sample of what public opinion was at that time supposed to require, his first step in apostasy was, perhaps, an intrusion on the sacrificial office, certainly an impatient breach of his engagement with Samuel, as the last and greatest of his crimes was persecuting David, whom he well knew to bear God's special commission. God forbid that any Christian land should ever, by her prevailing temper, revive the memory and likeness of Saul, or incur a sentence of reprobation like his. But if such a thing should be, the crimes of that nation will probably begin in infringement on Apostolical Rights; she will end in persecuting the true Church; and in several stages of her melancholy career she will continually be led on from bad to worse by vain endeavours at accommodation and compromise with evil. Sometimes toleration may be the word, as with Saul when he spared the Amalekites; sometimes State security, as when he sought the life of David; sometimes sympathy with popular feeling, as appears to have been the case when, violating solemn treaties, he attempted to exterminate the remnant of the Gibeonites, in his zeal for the children of Israel and Judah. Such are the sad but obvious results of separating religious resignation altogether from men's notions of civil duty.

II. But here arises the other question, on which it was proposed to say a few words; and with a view to which, indeed, the whole subject must be considered, if it is to lead to any practical improvement. What should be the tenour

of their conduct who find themselves cast on such times of decay and danger? How may a man best reconcile his allegiance to God and his Church with his duty to his country, that country, which now, by the supposition, is fast becoming hostile to the Church, and cannot therefore long be the friend of God?

Now in proportion as any one sees reason to fear that such is, or soon may be, the case in his own land, just so far may he see reason to be thankful, especially if he be called to any national trust, for such a complete pattern of his duty as he may find in the conduct of Samuel. That combination of sweetness with firmness, of consideration with energy, which constitutes the temper of a perfect public man, was never perhaps so beautifully exemplified. He makes no secret of the bitter grief and dismay with which the resolution of his countrymen had filled him. He was prepared to resist it at all hazards, had he not received from God Himself directions to give them their own way; protesting, however, in the most distinct and solemn tone, so as to throw the whole blame of what might ensue on their wilfulness. Having so protested, and found them obstinate, he does not therefore at once forsake their service, he continues discharging all the functions they had left him, with a true and loyal, though most heavy heart. "God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for you: but I will teach you the good and the right way."

Should it ever happen (which God avert, but we cannot shut our eyes to the danger) that the Apostolical Church should be forsaken, degraded, nay trampled on and despoiled, by the State and people of England, I cannot conceive a kinder wish for her, on the part of her most affectionate and dutiful children, than that she may, consistently, act in the spirit of this most noble sentence; nor a course of conduct more likely to be blessed by a restoration to more than her former efficiency. In speaking of the Church, I mean, of course, the laity, as well as the clergy in their three orders,—the whole body of Christians united, according to the will of Jesus Christ, under the Successors of the Apostles. It may, by God's blessing, be of some use to shew how, in the case supposed, the example of Samuel might guide her collectively, and each of her children individually, down even to a minute details of duty.

The Church would, first of all, have to be constant, as before, in INTERCESSION. No dispiteful usage, no persecution, could warrant her in ceasing to pray, as did her first fathers and patterns, for the State, and all who are in authority. That duty once well and cordially performed, all other duties, so to speak, are secured. Candour, respectfulness, guarded language, all that the Apostle meant in warning men not to "speak evil of dignities," may then, and then only, be practised, without compromise of truth and fortitude, when the habit is attained of praying as we ought for the very enemies of our precious and holy cause.

The constant sense of God's presence and consequent certainty of final success, which can be kept up no other way, would also prove an effectual bar against the more silent, but hardly less malevolent, feeling of disgust, almost amounting to misanthropy, which is apt to lay hold on sensitive minds when they see oppression and wrong triumphant on a large scale. The custom of interceding, even for the wicked, will keep the Psalmist's reasoning habitually present to their thoughts: "Fret not thyself because of the ungodly, neither be thou envious against the evil doers: for they shall soon be cut down like the grass, and be withered even as the green herb. . . Leave off from wrath, and let go displeasure: fret not thyself, else shalt thou be moved to do evil."

Thus not only by supernatural aid, which we have warrant of God's word for expecting, but even in the way of natural consequence, the first duty of the Church and of Churchmen, INTERCESSION, sincerely practised, would prepare them for the second;—which, following the words of Samuel as our clue, we may confidently pronounce to be REMONSTRANCE. "I will teach you the good and the right way." REMONSTRANCE, calm, distinct, and persevering, in public and in private, direct and indirect, by word, look and demeanour, is the unequivocal duty of every Christian, according to his opportunities, when the Church landmarks are being broken down.

Among laymen, a deep responsibility would appear to rest on those particularly whose profession leads them most directly to consider the boundaries of the various rights and duties which fill the space of civilized Society. The immediate

machinery of change must always pass through their hands, and they have also very great power in forming and modifying public opinion. The very solemnity of this day may remind them, even more than others, of the close amity which must ever subsist between equal justice and pure religion; apostolical religion, more especially, in proportion to her superior truth and exactness. It is an amity, made still more sacred, if possible, in the case of the Church and Law of England, by historical recollections, associations and precedents, of the most engaging and ennobling cast.

But I return to the practical admonition afforded her, in critical periods, by Samuel's example.

After the accomplishment of the change which he deprecated, his whole behaviour, to Saul especially, is a sort of expansion of the sentiment in the text. It is all earnest INTERCESSION with God, grave, respectful, affectionate REMONSTRANCE with the misguided man himself. Saul is boldly rebuked, and that publicly, for his impious liberality in sparing the Amalekites, yet so as not to dishonour him in the presence of the people. Even when it became necessary for God's prophet to shew that he was in earnest, and give the most effectual of warnings, by separating himself from so unworthy a person—when "Samuel came no more to see Saul,"—even then, we are told, he still "mourned for him."

On the same principle, come what may, we have ill learned the lessons of our Church, if we permit our patriotism to decay together with the protecting care of the State. "The powers that be are ordained of God," whether they foster the true Church or no. Submission and order are still duties. They were so in the days of pagan persecution; and the more of loyal and affectionate feeling we endeavour to mingle with our obedience, the better.

After all, the surest way to uphold or restore our endangered Church will be for each of her anxious children, in his own place and station, to resign himself more thoroughly to his God and Saviour in those duties, public and private, which are not immediately affected by the emergencies of the moment: the daily and hourly duties, I mean, of piety, purity, charity, justice. It will be a consolation, understood by every thoughtful Churchman, that, let his occupation be, apparently, never so remote from such great interests, it is in his power, by doing

all as a Christian, to credit and advance the cause he has most at heart ; and what is more, to draw down God's blessing upon it. This ought to be felt, for example, as one motive more to exact punctuality in those duties, personal and official, which the return of an Assize week offers to our practice ; one reason more for veracity in witnesses, fairness in pleaders, strict impartiality, self-command and patience in those on whom decisions depend, and for an awful sense of God's presence in all. An Apostle once did not disdain to urge good conduct upon his proselytes of lowest condition, upon the ground that, so doing, they would adorn and recommend the doctrine of God our Saviour. Surely, then, it will be no unworthy principle if any man be more circumspect in his behaviour, more watchful and fearful of himself, more earnest in his petitions for spiritual aid, from a dread of disparaging the holy name of the English Church, in her hour of peril, by his own personal fault or negligence.

As to those who, either by station or temper, feel themselves most deeply interested, they cannot be too careful in reminding themselves that one chief danger, in times of change and excitement, arises from their tendency to engross the whole mind. Public concerns, ecclesiastical or civil, will prove indeed ruinous to those who permit them to occupy all their care and thoughts, neglecting or undervaluing ordinary duties, more especially those of a devotional kind.

These cautions being duly observed, I do not see how any person can devote himself too entirely to the cause of the Apostolical Church in these realms. There may be, as far as he knows, but a very few to sympathise with him. He may have to wait long, and very likely pass out of this world before he see any abatement in the triumph of disorder and irreligion. But, if he be consistent, he possesses, to the utmost, the personal consolation of a good Christian ; and, as a true Churchman, he has that encouragement which no other cause in the world can impart in the same degree :—he is calmly, soberly, demonstrably, SURE, that, sooner or later, HIS WILL BE THE WINNING SIDE, and that the victory will be complete, universal, eternal.

He need not fear to look upon the efforts of Antichristian powers, as did the Holy Apostles themselves, who welcomed the first persecution in the words of the Psalmist :—

"Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?

"The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against His Anointed.

"For of a truth against Thy Holy Child Jesus, Whom Thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together.

"FOR TO DO WHATSOEVER THY HAND AND THY COUNSEL DETERMINED BEFORE TO BE DONE."

WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK (1798-1873)

The Tractarian Movement was started by students, poets and thinkers, and had for its birthplace an academic common-room. The relation to it of the two old Universities was, in Neale's words, that Oxford supplied the letter-press and Cambridge the illustrations. The Oxford contribution was theological and impassioned ; the Cambridge factor was ecclesiological and antiquarian. But only parish priests, and especially the town clergy, could bring the Revival down into the common resorts and everyday life of Englishmen. " Sound," observes Church, " requires atmosphere, and there was as yet no atmosphere in the public mind in which the voice of this learned theology could be heard. The person who first gave body and force to Church theology, not to be mistaken or ignored, was Dr. Hook. His massive and thorough churchmanship was the independent growth of his own thoughts and reading. Resolute, through good report and evil report, rough but very generous, stern both against Popery and Puritanism, he had become a power in the Midlands and the North, and first Coventry, then Leeds, were the centres of a new influence. He was the apostle of the Church to the great middle class." [1]

In the " Hear the Church " sermon, however, preached at the Chapel Royal in the presence of the youthful Queen just before her Coronation, Hook was an apostle of the Church to the nation's Head, whose duties we have seen sketched in a different spirit by Sydney Smith. It was, as a matter of fact, in substance, an old sermon composed at Coventry as one of a series on St. Matthew's Gospel, and subsequently preached at Leeds and elsewhere, and the historical statements contained in it are a trifle crude. But Dean Stephens observes:—

" The aim simply was to lay before the young Sovereign the

[1] *The Oxford Movement*, p. 12.

claims, the character and the privileges of the Church to which in the providence of God she had been called to be the temporal Head. Surrounded as she was at that time by Ministers whose ignorance of the history of the Church and misconception of its true principles and constitution might, as he feared, prejudice her mind with fatal errors on the subject, he conceived it to be his duty, so far as in him lay, to prejudice her mind in favour of the truth. . .

"There are many who can date from the perusal of that sermon an increase in their attachment to the Church, or the creation of an attachment never felt before . . . Many too can remember how a spirit of zeal was kindled within them as they read the burning words with which the sermon ends.

"Earnest and decided Churchmen, of course, rejoiced. Letters of congratulation and gratitude poured in from all directions. Writing to his wife on June 20th, Hook expressed his astonishment at the noise which his poor sermon had made. The Duke of Wellington told him he heard he had preached a very fine sermon. . . . 'They say at the Castle that the Queen was much affected, and on returning home retired for about an hour. If this be true, one may hope that good has been done.' He wrote afterwards to the *Times* to contradict a report which had got about that he was forbidden to preach in the Chapel Royal again, adding that he had not any reason to suppose that her Majesty was otherwise than pleased with the sermon."

However this may have been—and Queen Victoria's training and surroundings were undoubtedly unfavourable to appreciation of the Catholic revival—the sermon provoked a storm in the press and much public commotion. It ran through at least thirty-two editions, and had a large number of replies. Certainly one passage surprises the reader of to-day by its boldness; but in 1838, when the practice of the Sovereign attending the established worship in Scotland had not yet begun, it probably did not sound so outspokenly personal. Indeed, at her first

visit to her northern kingdom, Queen Victoria attended one of the so-called " Episcopalian " churches.

Dean Hook's churchmanship, however, was often wayward, self-opinionated and impulsive, and, besides minor points of disagreement between the Tractarians and himself—as regards which there was doubtless much to urge on both sides—and a justifiable impatience with firebrands, he broke away entirely from established High Church orthodoxy on a number of points, so as to become rather a thorn in the side of the Movement. It is pleasant to know that on his death-bed he sent a loving message, through Liddon, to " that saint whom England persecuted, our dearly beloved Pusey," and received an equally affectionate response, in which Dr. Pusey spoke of the long life of friendship begun in Hook's rooms in Peckwater, fifty-four years before. Hook, if a slightly cantankerous, was a warm-hearted man, and something better. For if anyone would know better the state of things which Hook found, and the state of things which he left, at Coventry and Leeds, he had better turn to Stephen's Life of a strenuous parish priest who did a work for religion in urban England which was in truth unique.

" HEAR THE CHURCH."

Hear the Church.—ST. MATTHEW xviii, 17.

This little sanctuary, in which we are now assembled, will always be regarded by the English Churchman with feelings of pious sentiment and respect. Here, from time immemorial, our Sovereigns have worshipped and our Bishops preached ; and these walls were the first which heard the sound of our English Liturgy. Here young Edward imbibed the principles of Divine Truth from the lips of Ridley and Cranmer, and here, in the reign of Elizabeth, her Bishops, supported by her united firmness, wisdom and piety, manfully upheld the principles of the English Reformation, maintaining the equipoise against the Papist on the one hand and, on the other, against those ultra-Protestants who were anxious to introduce the foreign system, and to revolutionize religion instead of reforming the Church. Here, too, Charles, who died a martyr for the

principles of the Church—for the Church of England boasts the only royal martyr in the calendar,[1]—sought that strength from on high, which enabled him to lay down his "grey discrowned head" upon the block with a blessed peace of mind which a rebel nation, while depriving him of everything else, was unable to take away. Here, ever since, by faithful pastors, our British Sovereigns have loyally, dutifully and respectfully, but, at the same time, I hope with firmness and fearlessness, been reminded of that solemn account they will one day have to render to Him who is King of kings and Lord of lords and the Ruler of princes. Here they have been admonished of the awful responsibility of high office, of the temptations by which they are surrounded, of the example they are bound to set, of their duty as the nursing fathers and nursing mothers of the Church; and here those Sovereigns, in the ordinances and sacraments of the Gospel, have sought for that Divine Grace of which they have stood in need as much as, yea, from their increased responsibility, from their greater temptations and difficulties, if possible, more than, the very meanest of their subjects.

In such a place then it cannot be deemed improper, if I briefly lay before you the claims, the character, and the privileges of the Church. May God the Holy Spirit be with me while I speak, and with you while you hear; with me, that I may speak boldly as I ought to speak; with you, that you may receive the word with pure affection; with me that I may not give, with you that you may not take, offence.

Now, at the very outset, I must state that I refer to the Church, not as a mere National Establishment of Religion, but *as* the Church, a religious community, intrinsically independent of the State; that is to say, I am about to treat of the Church, not in its political, but simply and solely in its religious, character.

No one who reads the Bible can for one moment doubt that Religion is, or ought to be, a national concern, so long as the Bible contains such awful denunciations against national apostasy and national vice, and while, among the predicted blessings of Christianity, it was foretold as one, that kings should be the nursing fathers, and queens the nursing mothers,

[1] St. Edmund and St. Edward are also commemorated in the Kalendar, but only to King Charles's name is "Martyr" affixed.

of the Church. And to desire to belong to that religious society which happens to be established in our native land is a sentiment patriotic, praiseworthy and honourable. But there is always still a further question to be asked ; namely, whether the society of Christians established by the government, and invested with certain emoluments and privileges, be a pure branch of the Church which was instituted by our blessed Lord and His Apostles. And if it be *not* such, however willing we might be to preserve the peace of society by refusing to injure a national institution, we should, nevertheless, be amply justified, as Religionists, in refusing to conform to it. If the mere fact that a religious society is established by the civil government be sufficient to claim for it our adhesion, see what the consequence must be ; we should be obliged, on such principles, to become Presbyterians in Scotland and Holland, Papists in France and Italy ; nay, in some parts of the world, worshippers of the Mosque and votaries of Brahma ! Whereas the consistent Protestant could not, of course, conform to the Established Church in France or Italy, until those Churches have undergone a thorough reformation ; the consistent English Churchman cannot conform to the Presbyterian establishment in Scotland, but in that part of the island attends the services of the Scottish Episcopal Church, which, though at one time established, was, at the Revolution in 1688, from political considerations, deprived of its endowments, which were then given to the community of Presbyterians, which has there become the established religion.

Bless God, then, we may, that the true Church is established here in England, and that, while as patriots we would support its establishment for our country's good, we can also, as Christians, conscientiously conform to it ; yet it is not on the ground that it is established by the State, but on grounds much higher and holier than these, that in this sacred place we are to state its claims. So entirely independent is the Church (as the Church) of the State, that were all connexion between the Church and the State at this very moment to cease, (though we may be sure the monarchy would be destroyed) the Church, as the Church, would continue precisely as she now is ; that is to say, our Bishops, though deprived of temporal rank, would still exercise all those spiritual functions which, conferred by higher than human authority, no human authority can

take away ; still to the vacant sees they would consecrate new bishops, still ordain the clergy, still confirm the baptized, still govern the Church ; our priests, assisted by the deacons, would still administer the sacraments and preach the Gospel ; our Liturgy, even though we were driven to upper rooms of our towns, or to the very caves of the desert, would still be solemnized. We may be sure of this, for this very thing has happened in times past. When the United States of America were English colonies, the English Church was there established. At the revolution the State was destroyed. Monarchy has there ceased to exist. But the Church, though depressed for a time, remained uninjured ; so that there—among the American republicans—under the superintendence of no fewer than sixteen bishops—you will find her sacraments and ordinances administered, and all her ritual and liturgical services administered, with not less of purity, zeal and solemnity than here in England ; there you may see the Church, like an oasis in the desert, blessed by the dews of heaven, and shedding heavenly blessings around her, in a land where, because no religion is established, if it were not for her, nothing but the extremes of infidelity or fanaticism would prevail.

And so you may perceive what is meant when we say that we wish to speak of the Church, not as an establishment, but as *the* Church, a religious society, a particular society of Christians.

We will commence with an indisputable fact. In this country there is at this time a religious society, known by the name of the Church. The question is, when and by whom was this society instituted ?

Now the Roman Catholics or Papists assert that it was instituted and founded, like the generality of Protestant sects, by certain Reformers of the sixteenth century, and thence they would deduce a strong argument against us. They would ask us, whether any man can take unto himself the office of the ministry, unless he be sent by God ; and if we are scriptural Christians, if we take the Bible for our guide, if we act on that sound Protestant principle, with the fifth chapter to the Hebrews open before us, we must answer, no. Then they proceed to ask, how can *you* prove that your ministers are called of God to the office ? And if their assertion were

true, that our Church was founded at the Reformation, we could give them no answer at all.

But at the period of the Reformation, when Cranmer and Ridley flourished, there was a Church existing and established in England, and as Archbishop of that Church Cranmer, our celebrated Reformer, was consecrated. That Church had existed, as all parties admit, from the first planting of Christianity in England. But Archbishop Cranmer found that in his time it had become in certain respects corrupted; that the Bishop of Rome, for example, had usurped over it an authority and influence which he did not possess by right; that many practices prevailed, some of them contrary to Scripture, and some of them much abused to superstitions, such as the worshipping of saints and images, and the use of the Liturgy in a language not understood by the people; while opinions were prevalent (such as those relating to transubstantiation,) decidedly erroneous, which the Church did not protest against, but, on the contrary, rather seemed to sanction. Now when once these errors were pointed out and proved to be unscriptural, our Divines would have been guilty of heresy had they pertinaciously adhered to them. Before the Reformation, those who adhered to them were not guilty of heresy, for they held the doctrines which (ever since the Reformation) we have renounced from a mere error of fact. They supposed them to be revealed doctrines, and therefore they in humble faith received them; we, on the contrary, have ascertained that these doctrines were not revealed, and therefore, influenced by the same faith, reject them; so that it was by one and the self-same principle that, both before and since the Reformation, the true members of the Church of England have been actuated. They said, and we say precisely the same, whatsoever is revealed, that we will not question but believe. But as to the fact, whether this or that doctrine was revealed, they were less cautious than we are now; we who, perhaps, err on the very side of caution.

But, to return to the Archbishop and the Prelates who aided him in the work of reformation. They discovered that all the errors which they detected in their Church were innovations gradually and imperceptibly introduced, and not belonging originally or essentially to the Church of England; that, even in the seventh century, five councils were held in England

when the doctrines denounced by the Reformers were unknown. What, then, did the Archbishop and his associates determine to do? They determined, as they had an undoubted right to do, not to overthrow the old Church and establish a protestant sect in its place, but merely to reform, to correct abuses in, the existing Church. And, aided by the civil powers, this they did, by asserting, first, their own independence, as Bishops, against the usurped authority of the Pope, who had no more authority of right in England than the Bishop of Canterbury had in Rome; by discontinuing practices which led evidently to unscriptural superstitions; by protesting against certain prevalent erroneous doctrines; by translating the Scriptures and the ancient Ritual and Liturgy, which latter (the Ritual and Liturgy we still retain) besides translating, they re-arranged. But, though they did this, they still remained the same Bishops and Divines of the same Church. An attempt was made to revive the old superstitions in Queen Mary's reign, but, by the pious firmness of Elizabeth, her Bishops were enabled to complete the work so happily commenced in the reigns of her father and brother.

Now, from this historical statement, you see the absurdity of which the Papists are guilty when they accuse us of having deserted or dissented from the old Church and of having reared a new Church, of human origin; the absurdity of speaking of theirs as the old Church and the old religion.

About two years ago this very Chapel, in which we are now assembled, was repaired; certain disfigurements removed; certain improvements made. Would it not be absurd, on that account, to contend that it is no longer the Chapel Royal? Would it not be still more absurd if some one were to build a new Chapel in the neighbourhood, imitating closely what this Chapel was five years ago, and carefully piling up all the dust and rubbish which was at that time swept from hence, and then pronounce *that*, not *this*, to be the ancient Chapel of the Sovereigns of England? The absurdity is at once apparent; but this is precisely what has been done by the Roman Catholic or Papist. The present Church of England is the old Catholic Church of England, reformed, in the reigns of Henry, Edward and Elizabeth, of certain superstitious errors; it is the same Church which came down from our British and Saxon ancestors, and, as such, it possesses its original endowments, which were

never, as ignorant persons foolishly suppose, taken from one Church and given to another. The Church remained the same after it was reformed as it was before, just as a man remains the same man after he has washed his face as he was before, just as Naaman, the leper, remained the same Naaman, after he was cured of his leprosy, as he was before. And so regularly, so canonically, was the Reformation conducted that even those who thought no reformation requisite still remained for a time in the Church; they did not consider what was done (though they did not approve of it) sufficient to drive them into a schism. It was not till the twelfth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign that, listening to the exhortations of the Pope, they quitted the Church and formed a new sect, from which the present Romish dissenters have descended, and in which were retained all those errors in opinion and practice, all that rubbish, which the Catholic Church in England had at the Reformation corrected and swept away. Let it always be remembered that the English Romanists separated from us, not we from them; we did not go out from them, but they from us. The slightest acquaintance with that neglected branch of learning, Ecclesiastical History, will convince us of this. They left the Church of England, to which they originally belonged, because they thought their Bishops had reformed too much, had become too protestant; just as Protestant dissenters left us, because they thought we had not reformed enough; that we were, as they still style us, too popish. The one party left us because they wanted no reform, the other because, instead of a reformation, they wished a religious revolution—the Reformers of the Church of England carefully preserving a middle path.

The Church of England, then, that Church to which we belong, is the old Catholic Church which was originally planted in this country. But the founders of the Church of England —remember I do not mean the Reformers: for nothing but ignorance, the most gross, will speak of them as our founders; ignorance which concedes to the Papists an argument of the very greatest importance—the founders, or planters, of the Church of England, both Britons and Saxons, were bishops ordained by other bishops, precisely as is the case at the present time; the catalogue has been carefully and providentially preserved from the beginning. And the bishops who ordained

them had been ordained by other bishops, and so back to the Apostles, who ordained the first bishops, being themselves ordained by Christ. This is what is called the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession; which is a doctrine of considerable importance. For unless the ministers of the Gospel are sent by Christ, what right have they to act in His name? If we were passing through a foreign land, we might be perfectly competent to act as ambassador for the Queen of England; but would any foreign potentate receive us as such, unless we could produce our credentials? Many a lawyer may be as well *qualified* to perform the duties of the Lord Chancellor as the Chancellor himself, but is he able to *act* as Chancellor? No, certainly; not unless he has first received a commission from his Sovereign. And so with respect to religion. What right has a man to take upon himself to act as God's ambassador, unless God has commissioned him so to act? An eloquent man he may be, and one mighty in the Scriptures, but he has no authority to speak in God's name until God has given him that authority. How, asks St. Paul, shall they preach, *i.e.*, preach lawfully, except they be sent, *i.e.*, sent by God? No man, says Scripture, taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God. Nay, even Christ, says the Apostle, glorified not himself to be made an high-priest, but He that said unto Him, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee:" even *He* entered not on his ministerial office until He was externally appointed thereto.

As the Lord Jesus Christ was sent by the Father, so were the Apostles sent by Him. "As my Father hath sent Me," He says, soon after His resurrection, "even so send I you." Now how had the Father sent Him? He had sent Him to act as His supreme minister on earth; as such to appoint unto Him subordinate ministers and to do what He then did, when His work on earth was done, to hand on His commission to others. The Apostles, in like manner, were sent by Christ to act as His chief ministers in the Church, to appoint subordinate ministers under them, and then, as He had done, to hand on their commission to others. And on this commission, after our Lord had ascended upon high, the Apostles proceeded to act. They formed their converts into Churches: these Churches consisted of baptized believers, to officiate among whom subordinate ministers, priests and deacons, were ordained, while the

Apostle who first formed any particular Church exercised over it episcopal superintendence, either holding an occasional visitation, by sending for the clergy to meet him (as St. Paul summoned to Miletus the clergy of Ephesus), or else transmitting to them those pastoral addresses which, under the name of Epistles, form so important a portion of Holy Scripture. At length, however, it became necessary for the Apostles to proceed yet further, and to do as their Lord had empowered them to do, to hand on their commission to others, that at their own death the governors of the Church might not be extinct. Of this we have an instance in Titus, who was placed in Crete by St. Paul to act as chief pastor or Bishop, and another in Timothy, who was in like manner set over the Church at Ephesus. And when Timothy was thus appointed to the office of chief pastor he was associated with St. Paul, who, in writing to the Philippians, commences his salutation thus: "Paul and Timotheus to the servants of Jesus Christ who are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons."

Now we have here the three orders of the ministry clearly alluded to. The title of Bishop, is, to be sure, given to the second order; but it is not for words, but for things, that we are to contend. Titles may be changed while office remains: so senators exist, though they are not now of necessity old men; and most absurd would it be to contend that, when we speak of the Emperor Constantine, we can mean no other office than that held under the Roman republic, because we find Cicero also saluted as emperor.

So stood the matter in the apostolic age, when the chief pastors of the Church were generally designated Apostles or Angels, *i.e.*, messengers sent by God Himself. In the next century, the office remaining, the designation of those who held it was changed, the title of Apostle was confined to the twelve, including St. Paul; and the chief pastors who succeeded them were thenceforth called Bishops, the subordinate ministers being styled Priests and Deacons. And thus we see, as Christ was sent by the Father, so He sent the Apostles; as the Apostles were sent by Christ, so did they send the first race of Bishops; as the first race was sent by the Apostles, so they sent the second race of Bishops, the second the third, and so down to our present Bishops, who can thus trace their spiritual descent from St. Peter and St. Paul, and prove their

divine authority to govern the Churches over which they are canonically appointed to preside. Like the Apostles, they have the right to appoint under them subordinate ministers; and so, let the Papists say what they will, the clergy of England can establish their right by commission from Christ to minister in sacred things.

Such was originally the constitution, not of one or two Churches only, but of the Church Universal—the Church Catholic. Against the Church, so constituted in various places, sectarians arose, even in the Apostolic age. These sects were generally, like modern sects, distinguished by the names of their founders. But true Churches disdained to be called after any human being whatever, since of them Christ was the Author and Finisher. The episcopal Churches, persevering in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, were styled collectively the Catholic Church; and, in order to distinguish it from the surrounding sects, the true orthodox Church in any particular country was sometimes called a branch of the Catholic Church, sometimes the Catholic Church of that place, and hence the term Catholic came by degrees to signify (as Bishop Beveridge remarks) much the same as our term orthodox—the orthodox Church, and orthodox members of the same—that Church which adhered to the Scriptural discipline and doctrine universally received, as distinguished from the discipline invented, and the doctrine propounded, by individual teachers.

You see here, by the way, the folly (if it be not a sin, for it is calling "evil, good—and good, evil,") of styling the Romish dissenters in England, as some persons in extreme ignorance, and others perhaps with bad intentions, do, Catholics; for this insinuates that we of the Church of England are heretics, whereas you have seen that ours, not theirs, is the true and orthodox Church in this country, the real Catholic Church in and of England. If they dislike the name of Papist, we may speak of them as Romanists, or even Roman Catholics. Roman Catholics they may be styled, for (though schismatics and dissenters in England) in France and Italy they belong to a Church true by descent, though corrupted by Roman or popish superstitions. A bad man is still a man, and you may refuse to associate with him before he reforms—but still you will never permit him so to style himself a man as to imply that you yourself are an inhuman being.

Pure in its doctrine, apostolic in its discipline, and edifying in its ceremonies, this Catholic and Apostolic Church diffused its blessings and preserved its purity for many hundred years. In the middle ages it existed, still working good and administering grace according to the exigence of the times ; emitting a ray of light when all around was dark. But the surrounding ignorance and gloom prevented the detection of various corruptions and disfigurements which by degrees crept into it, until, in the sixteenth century, the sun of learning having dawned upon Europe, its defects in this country began to betray themselves too obviously to be any longer tolerated. Of these defects, so far as the English branch of the Church was concerned, the Bishops of the Church of England, as I have before stated, by degrees became aware, and while they venerated the fabrick which Apostles had reared, and of which Christ Himself was the chief corner-stone, they carefully removed the incrustations which disfigured it, and, sweeping away the rubbish by which it had been overlaid, displayed the real Rock on which it had been built. Thus was the Catholic and Apostolic Church, of which we profess our belief in the Creeds, rescued in England from Popish domination, and (reformed or brought back to its primitive purity, dignified in its simplicity) it retained the ministry in regular succession from the Apostles, and a Ritual and Liturgy which can themselves in great part be traced back to the Apostolic age.

Although causelessly to separate from such a Church must be a schismatical act, yet we do not uncharitably pronounce sentence of excommunication upon those who have, by circumstances over which they have no control, been brought up without its pale. In error, of course, we believe them to be, but certainly not in such error from that circumstance as to endanger their salvation : and if we suppose them, as we must do, to lack our privileges, this ought only to make us respect them the more, if at any time we find them (with fewer advantages) surpassing us in godliness. We do not confine God's grace and favour to the Church, for we remember that, though Job was not a member of the then Church of God, still he was a man eminently pious and highly-favoured ; we remember that, though Balaam was not in the Church, yet he was an inspired Prophet ; we remember that Jethro also, the father-in-law of Moses, though not a proselyte to Israel (and the Church

at that time was confined to Israelites) was yet a servant of God; we remember that the Rechabites were actually commended by God at the very time He passed censure upon those who were then His Church—the people Israel.

Remembering all this, we say not that other denominations of Christians are cast out from the mercy of God through the Saviour, because they belong not to the Church; all that we say is, that it does not follow that these concessions must render void the divine appointment of the Church, the divine command to all nations, and of course to all mankind, to be united with it, or the scriptural evidence for episcopacy as the divinely sanctioned organisation of its ministry,—and we contend that, a treasure having been committed to us, we are not to undervalue it lest we should offend others, but are to preserve it in its purity, and in all its integrity to transmit it to our children and our children's children.

And let me ask, Is *not* the privilege of belonging to a Church thus orthodox in its doctrine, and true by descent, thus both Catholic *and* Protestant, a privilege for which we should be deeply grateful to the providence and grace of God? And will not the account we shall have to render be awful, if we neglect, despise or forgo the advantages thus placed within our reach?

Let us ever remember that the primary object for which the Church was instituted by Christ, its Author and Finisher, and for which the apostolical succession of its ministers was established, that the primary object for which, through ages of persecution, and ages of prosperity, and ages of darkness, and ages of corruption, and ages of reformation, and ages of latitudinarianism, and now in an age of rebuke and blasphemy, now when we have fallen on evil days and evil tongues, the primary object for which the Church has still been preserved by a providential care, marvellous sometimes if not miraculous in our eyes, was, and is, to convey supernaturally the saving merits of the atoning Blood of the Lamb of God and the sanctifying graces of His Holy Spirit to the believer's soul. In the Church it is that the appointed means are to be found by which that mysterious union with Christ is promoted, in which our spiritual life consists. In her it is that the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity abideth for ever, gradually to change the heart of sinful man, and to make that flesh which

He finds stone,—gradually to prepare us for heaven, while our ascended Saviour is preparing heaven for us. And oh! my brethren! what a privilege it is to have this well of living waters in which you may wash and be clean! You know that you are sinful creatures, very far gone from righteousness; you know that your condition is such that you cannot turn and prepare yourselves by your own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God; you know that by nature you cannot love the Lord your God with all your heart and soul and strength; you cannot discharge the various duties of your various situations in life; you know that, whatever your condition now may be, the hour must come of affliction and sorrow, of sickness and sadness, the inevitable hour of death; and the Church is instituted to convey to you pardon upon your repentance, and grace in time of need; it is instituted to instruct you in your ignorance, to comfort you in your sorrows, to elevate you in your devotions, to bring you into communion with your Saviour, your Sanctifier, your God; to prepare you for the hour of death, yea, for the day of judgment; and this she chiefly does through the sacraments of the Gospel, and the other divinely appointed ordinances of religion, if of them you will but avail yourselves.

But this is not all; while the Church thus ministers grace to individuals, it is part of her business to preserve, hand down and proclaim the truth, the whole truth, as it is in Jesus. And our duty, therefore, it is—especially, if we happen by God's Providence to be called to situations of influence, rank, or authority—by all the means in our power, to increase her efficiency in this respect, to place her on the watch-tower, that her voice may be heard through the length and the breadth of the land; our duty it is, to take care that her faith be preserved intact and pure; our duty it is, to vindicate her from the glosses of ignorance, and the misrepresentations of prejudice and malice; our duty it is, clearly to define, and zealously to maintain, those peculiar doctrines and that peculiar discipline which have always marked, and do still continue to mark, the distinction between the Church of Christ, administered under the superintendence of chief Pastors or Bishops who have regularly succeeded to the Apostles, and those sects of Christianity which exist under self-appointed teachers.

Against the Church the world seems at this time to be set in array. To be a true and faithful member of the Church requires no little moral courage. Basely to pretend to belong to her, while designing mischief against her in the heart, this is easy enough; but manfully to contend for her because she is the Church, a true Church, a pure Church, a holy Church, this is difficult to those who court the praise of men, or fear the censure of the world. May the great God of heaven, may Christ the great Bishop and Shepherd of souls, who is over all things in the Church, put it, my brethren, into your hearts and minds to say and feel (as I do), "As for me and my house, we will live in the Church, we will die in the Church, and if need shall be, like our martyred forefathers, we will die for the Church."

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN (1801-1890)

Between 1841 and 1845 a shadow drew slowly like eclipse across the Oxford Movement. It was known more and more surely that its most towering mind and genius despaired of the Church of England and was about to leave it. The only Tract writer who had been a Low Churchman, Newman, had " passed out of the *umbra* of Liberalism " into the Via Media, and now he was passing out, through darkness and anguish, at the other side. " I am a foreign material," he wrote sadly in 1843, " and cannot assimilate with the Church of England." It is sometimes said that Newman would have remained in the Movement if he could have known the astonishing successes it would achieve. This is very doubtful. To be sure, there is much in those contrasted pictures which haunted him that time has nullified. The Church of England, though irresolute and unauthoritative, is not barren or dry-breasted, or a disowner of the prophets: The Via Media is something more than a " paper theory " which has " slept in libraries," for it has been made by a hundred thousand disciples " substantive and concrete." Nor has the Roman Church, in England at least, any longer the apostolic note of being everywhere spoken against and unfashionable. But Newman never could have felt at home in modern Anglicanism. His lonely and fastidious intellect was not greatly at home in modern Romanism either. He belonged to a more mystical and finer world. Surely it is a strange fate which has made the *Essay on Development*, the writing of which determined Newman's change of fold, a starting-point of Modernist neology.

In 1829 Newman had described himself in his Diary as " led on by God's hand blindly, not knowing whither He is taking me." In 1833 he said that all he believed had come to him

through Keble's mind. Soon the issue of the Tracts marked himself out as the leader of a cause. But the eagle spirit was soon to wing its solitary way. In 1836 Hurrell Froude, " the bright and beautiful," died. In 1839 Newman convinced himself that neither the University nor the Episcopate would accept a Catholic view of the Church, and in the Long Vacation of that year he saw " the shadow of a hand upon the wall," he looked at his face in the mirror of Antiquity and knew himself a Monophysite. " He who has seen a ghost cannot be as if he had never seen it. The heavens had opened and closed again." In his article on " English Catholicity " he seemed to himself almost to have shot his last arrow. Before the year was out, he contemplated resigning St. Mary's, but yielded to Keble's persuasion. In 1840 he gave up the *British Critic*. February, 1841, saw the publication of Tract XC, condemned a fortnight later by the Heads. " I should be sorry," said one dignitary, " to trust the author of that Tract with my purse." To the storm raised by it Newman would not bow, but Bishop Lloyd's disapprobation was a different matter. " I loved to act as feeling myself in my Bishop's sight as if it were in the sight of God," and after his entrance into the fold of Rome he wrote to Wiseman that he would obey the Pope as he had obeyed his own Bishop while an Anglican. The Tracts were at once discontinued, and in a letter to the Bishop he resigned his place in the Movement.

In the Summer of 1841 he found himself at Littlemore—the village dependance of St. Mary's, Oxford—" without any harass or anxiety " on his mind. He had built a church there in 1835, and now began to turn a range of ancient cottages into a half vicarage, half priory. Littlemore might become, he hoped, a *Torres Vedras* for the cause. Then came three poignant blows. Writing his *History of Arianism*, the ghost came to Newman, he tells us, a second time. Anglicans were the semi-Arians, and the truth lay now, as in the fourth century, with the so-called " extremists." While he was in the misery

of this discovery, the Bishops began to charge against him—"a formal, determinate movement." On the top of this came the affair of the Jerusalem Bishoprick, and the fraternization with Lutherans. "This third blow," Newman writes in the *Apologia*, "finally shattered my faith in the Anglican Church. . . . At the end of 1841 I was on my death-bed as regards my membership." Still, the Church of England might be thought of as a Samaria of old—schismatic, yet not cut off from God. In 1841 he preached four sermons aimed at re-assuring perplexed fellow-churchmen. At the end of 1842 he protested: "There is a Divine life among us, in spite of all our disorders." He urged on correspondents the duty of cultivating interior religion and leaving the rest to God. But he formally retracted (in the *Conservative Journal*, Jan., 1843) all the hard things he had said against Rome, and withdrew more and more to his retreat. Except on Sundays, he was now hardly ever in "dear Oxford," "sacred Oxford." The king of the herd was creeping away, wounded, to die.

Then the flies began to buzz. "Why did I go up to Littlemore? For no good purpose, certainly. Why, to be sure, it was hard that I should be obliged to say to the editors of newspapers that I went up there to say my prayers. . . Yet I was considered insidious, sly, dishonest, if I would not open my heart to the tender mercies of the world. . . Cowards! if I advanced one step, you would run away. It is not you that I fear—'di me terrent et Jupiter hostis.' It is because the Bishops will go on charging against me, though I have quite given up. It is that secret misgiving of heart which tells me they do well, for I have neither part nor lot with them. This it is which weighs me down. I cannot walk into or out of my house, but curious eyes are upon me. Why will you not let me die in peace?" One day, he says, he entered his house to find a flight of undergraduates inside, while Heads of Houses, as mounted patrols, walked their horses round those poor cottages, and Doctors of Divinity peered into every corner.

Only to his kind Diocesan would Newman offer any explanation or defence.

He had with him some young men whom he was holding back from secession. On August 30, 1843, one of them, T. G. Lockhart, " went over." Newman had been unable to keep his word to the Bishop, and within a fortnight resigned his cure of souls. On Sept. 17 he preached his farewell sermon at St. Mary's, and on Sept. 25, the eve of the festival of St Cyprian, he delivered in Littlemore Church the sermon called " The Parting of Friends." Macaulay knew its exquisite lamentations and plangent cadences by heart. Can it be ever read without a sob ? It is exasperating to be told that Newman will live hereafter as a literary stylist. The great Church revival of the nineteenth century was born not in rhetoric but in spiritual agony and tears of blood.

Newman had now given up clerical duty, but was still unconvinced that the " heavenly vision " bade him submit to Rome. There was her unnatural political alliance with Liberals and freethinkers, whose antinomian spirit was " the characteristic of the destined Antichrist," against what remained of Catholicism in the English polity. There was the " unscrupulous and intriguing " spirit of her agents. And there were certain grave corruptions of Christian belief and practice. As late as Jan. 8, 1845, Newman wrote :—" The state of the Roman Catholics is at present so unsatisfactory that nothing but a simple, direct call of duty is a warrant for anyone leaving our Church." Also he had " too great a horror of the principle of private judgment to trust it in so immense a matter." Though in lay communion only, his habits, even in private devotion, continued to be those of an English Churchman. In Sept., 1844, J. W. Bowden died and Newman " sobbed bitterly over his coffin, to think that he left us still dark as to the way of truth, and what I ought to do to please God and fulfil His will." But letters of a sacred tenderness were passing to and fro between him and one or two—Keble, Church and his

sister, Mrs. Mozley—which could leave no doubt what the end would be; otherwise he preserved an "awful silence." Early in 1845 Newman began writing his *Essay on Development*, growing as he stood at his desk ever thinner and more transparent. On Oct. 8 he was received by a Passionist Father at Littlemore into what his soul and intellect believed to be "the One Fold of Christ." That same day Ernest Renan quitted it.

Shairp, who was an undergraduate at the time, recalled many years after "the aching blank, the awful pause, which fell upon Oxford when that voice had ceased, and we knew that we should hear it no more. It was as when, to one kneeling by night in the silence of some vast cathedral, the great bell tolling solemnly overhead has suddenly gone still." [1] The author of *Lothair* declared that it had been "a blow under which the Church of England still reeled," and Gladstone said that the secession had never yet been estimated at anything like the full amount of its calamitous importance. It had left wrecks on every shore. But movements, if they have the Holy Ghost with them, do not stand and fall with one man, even though that man were John Henry Newman.

There is a *spirituel* and radiant drawing of Newman made in 1844 by the elder Richmond, which Mr. William Barry gives in his Memoir. Nearly seventy years have passed, but we have still with us one or two who remember him in those days. Archdeacon Lear, hale of body and strong of memory, describes him to me and recalls his last sermon before the University. While these pages are passing through the press, Dr. Robert Gregory, "last of the Tractarians," has been called to his rest. He used to walk over every Sunday afternoon to hear the Littlemore sermons, and was present at the last of all. I had his permission to quote here his recollection of Dr. Pusey, whose grief was so intense that his sobbing was heard throughout the Church. Pusey, then Regius Professor of Hebrew but suspended since the previous June from occupying the

[1] *Studies;* quoted in Donaldson's *Five Great Oxford Leaders*, p. 115.

University pulpit, had celebrated in the morning, for it was the anniversary of the church's dedication. Gay with flowers, it seemed decked as for a funeral. It is noticeable that Newman's last sermon in the Church of England, when "the evening" was come, was from the same text which he took for his first sermon in 1824, when he "went forth to his work and to his labour."

The Parting of Friends

Man goeth forth to his work and to his labour until the evening.—Psalm civ, 23.

When the Son of Man, the First-born of the creation of God, came to the evening of his mortal life, He parted with His disciples at a feast. He had borne "the burden and heat of the day"; yet, when "wearied with His journey," He had but stopped at the well's side, and asked a draught of water for His thirst; for He had "meat to eat which" others "knew not of." His meat was "to do the will of Him that sent Him and to finish His work." "I must work the works of Him that sent Me," said He, "while it is day; the night cometh, when no man can work." Thus passed the season of His ministry; and, if at any time He feasted with Pharisee or Publican, it was that He might do the work of God more strenuously. But "when the even was come, He sat down with the Twelve." "And He said unto them, With desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you, before I suffer." He was about to suffer more than man had ever suffered or shall suffer. But there is nothing gloomy, churlish, violent or selfish in His grief; it is tender, affectionate, social. He calls His friends around Him, though He was as Job among the ashes; He bids them stay by Him, and see Him suffer; He desires their sympathy; He takes refuge in their love. He first feasted them, and sang a hymn with them, and washed their feet; and, when His long trial began, He beheld them and kept them in His presence, till they in terror shrank from it. Yet, on St. Mary and St. John, His Virgin Mother and His Virgin Disciple, who remained, His eyes still rested; and in St. Peter, who was denying Him in the distance, His sudden glance wrought a deep repentance. O wonderful pattern, the type of all trial and of all duty under it, while the Church endures!

We indeed to-day have no need of so high a lesson and so

august a comfort. We have no pain, no grief, which calls for it; yet, considering it has been brought before us in this morning's service, we are naturally drawn to think of it, though it be infinitely above us, under certain circumstances of this season and the present time. For now are the shades of evening falling upon the earth, and the year's labour is coming to its end. In Septuagesima the sower went forth to sow; —that time is over; "the harvest is passed, the summer is ended," the vintage is gathered. We have kept the Ember days for the fruits of the earth in self-abasement, as being unworthy even of the least of God's mercies; and now we are offering up of its corn and wine as a propitiation, and eating and drinking of them with thanksgiving.

"All things come of Thee, and of Thine own have we given Thee." If we have had the rain in its season, and the sun shining in its strength, and the fertile ground, it is of Thee. We give back to Thee what came from Thee. "When Thou givest it them, they gather it, and when Thou openest Thy hand, they are filled with good. When Thou hidest Thy face, they are troubled; when Thou takest away their breath they die, and are turned again to their dust." He gives, He takes away. "Shall we receive good at the hands of God, and shall we not receive evil?" May He not "do what He will with His own?" May not His sun set as it has risen? and must it not set, if it is to rise again? and must not darkness come first, if there is ever to be morning? and must not the sky be blacker, before it can be brighter? And cannot He, who can do all things, cause a light to arise even in the darkness? "I have thought upon Thy Name, O Lord, in the night season, and have kept Thy law"; "Thou also shalt light my candle, the Lord my God shall make my darkness to be light"; or as the Prophet speaks, "At the evening time it shall be light."

"All things come of Thee," says holy David, "for we are strangers before Thee and sojourners, as were all our fathers; our days on the earth are as a shadow, and there is none abiding." All is vanity, vanity of vanities, and vexation of spirit. "What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun? One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth for ever; the sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down; . . . . all things

are full of labour, man cannot utter it ; . . . . that which is crooked cannot be made straight, and that which is wanting cannot be numbered." " To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven ; a time to be born and a time to die ; a time to plant and a time to pluck up that which is planted ; a time to kill and a time to heal ; a time to break down and a time to build up ; . . . . a time to get and a time to lose ; a time to keep and a time to cast away." And time, and matter, and motion, and force, and the will of man, how vain are they all, except as instruments of the grace of God, blessing them and working with them ! How vain are all our pains, our thought, our care, unless God uses them, unless God has inspired them ! how worse than fruitless are they, unless directed to His glory, and given back to the Giver !

" Of Thine own have we given Thee," says the royal Psalmist, after He had collected materials for the Temple. Because " the work was great," and " the palace, not for man, but for the Lord God," therefore he " prepared with all his might for the house of his God," gold, and silver, and brass, and iron, and wood, " onyx stones, and stones to be set, glistering stones, and of diverse colours, and all manner of precious stones, and marble stones in abundance." And " the people rejoiced, for that they offered willingly ; . . . and David the king also rejoiced with great joy." We too, at this season, year by year, have been allowed in our measure, according to our work and our faith, to rejoice in God's presence, for this sacred building which He has given us to worship Him in. It was a glad time when we first met here—many of us now present recollect it ; nor did our rejoicing cease, but was renewed every autumn, as the day came round. It has been " a day of gladness and feasting, and a good day, and of sending portions one to another." We have kept the feast heretofore with merry hearts ; we have kept it seven full years unto " a perfect end." Now let us keep it, even though in haste, and with bitter herbs, and with loins girded, and with a staff in our hand, as they who have " no continuing city, but seek one to come."

So was it with Jacob, when with his staff he passed over that Jordan. He too kept feast before he set out upon his dreary way. He received a father's blessing, and then was sent afar ; he left his mother, never to see her face or hear her voice again. He parted with all that his heart loved, and turned his face

towards the strange land. He went with the doubt whether he should have bread to eat, or raiment to put on. He came to " the people of the East, and served a hard master twenty years. " In the day the drought consumed him, and the frost by night ; and his sleep departed from his eyes." O little did he think, when father and mother had forsaken him, and at Bethel he lay down to sleep on the desolate ground, because the sun was set and even had come, that there was the house of God and the gate of heaven, that the Lord was in that place, and would thence go forward with him whithersoever he went, till He brought him back to that river in " two bands," who was then crossing it forlorn and solitary !

So had it been with Ishmael. Though the feast was not to him a blessing, yet he feasted in his father's tent, and then was sent away. That tender father who, when a son was promised to him of Sarah, called out to his Almighty Protector, " O that Ishmael might live before Thee ! "—he it was who, under a divine direction, the day after the feast, " rose up early in the morning, and took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave it unto Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away. And she departed, and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba." And little thought that fierce child, when for feasting came weariness and thirst and wandering in the desert, that this was not the end of Ishmael, but the beginning. And little did Hagar read his coming fortunes, when " the water was spent in the bottle, and she cast the child under one of the shrubs, and she went and sat her down over against him a good way off ; . . . . for she said, Let me not see the death of the child. And she sat over against him, and lift up her voice, and wept."

So had it been with Naomi, though she was not quitting, but returning to, her home, and going, not to a land of famine, but of plenty. In a time of distress, she had left her country, and found friends and made relations among the enemies of her people. And when her husband and her children died, Moabitish women, who had once been the stumbling-block of Israel, became the support and comfort of her widowhood. Time had been when, at the call of the daughters of Moab, the chosen people had partaken their sacrifices, and " bowed down to their gods. And Israel joined himself unto Baal-peor, and the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel."

Centuries had since passed away, and now of Moabites was Naomi mother ; and to their land had she given her heart, when the call of duty summoned her back to Bethlehem. " She had heard in the country of Moab how that the Lord had visited His people in giving them bread. Wherefore she went forth out of the place where she was, and her two daughters-in-law with her, and they went on the way to return unto the land of Judah." Forlorn widow, great was the struggle in her bosom, whether shall she do ?—leave behind her the two heathen women, in widowhood and weakness like herself, her sole stay, the shadows of departed blessings ? or shall she selfishly take them as fellow-sufferers, who could not be protectors ? Shall she seek sympathy when she cannot gain help ? shall she deprive them of a home, where she has none to supply ? So she said, " Go, return each to her mother's house : the Lord deal kindly with you, as ye have dealt with the dead and with me ! " Perplexed Naomi, torn with contrary feelings ; which tried her the more,—Orpah who left her, or Ruth who remained ? Orpah who was a pain, or Ruth who was a charge ? " They lifted up their voice and wept again ; and Orpah kissed her mother-in-law, but Ruth clave unto her. And she said, Behold thy sister-in-law is gone back unto her people and unto her gods ; return thou after thy sister-in-law. And Ruth said, Entreat me not to leave thee : or to return from following after thee : for whither thou goest, I will go ; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge : thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried ; the Lord do so to me, and more also, if ought but death part thee and me."

Orpah kissed Naomi, and went back to the world. There was sorrow in the parting, but Naomi's sorrow was more for Orpah's sake than for her own. Pain there would be, but it was the pain of a wound, not the yearning regret of love. It was the pain we feel when friends disappoint us, and fall in our esteem. That kiss of Orpah was no loving token ; it was but the hollow profession of those who use smooth words, that they may part company with us with least trouble and discomfort to themselves. Orpah's tears were but the dregs of affection ; she clasped her mother-in-law once for all, that she might not cleave to her. Far different were the tears, far different the embrace, which passed between those two

religious friends recorded in the book which follows, who loved each other with a true love unfeigned, but whose lives ran in different courses. If Naomi's grief was great when Orpah kissed her, what was David's when he saw the last of him whose "soul had from the first been knit with his soul," so that "he loved him as his own soul?" "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan," he says; "very pleasant hast thou been unto me; thy love for me was wonderful, passing the love of women." What woe was upon that "young man," "of a beautiful countenance and goodly to look to," and "cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and prudent in matters," when his devoted, affectionate and loyal friend, whom these good gifts have gained, looked upon him for the last time! O hard destiny, except that the All-merciful so willed it, that such companions might not walk in the house of God as friends! David must flee to the wilderness, Jonathan must pine in his father's hall; Jonathan must share that stern father's death in battle, and David must ascend the vacant throne. Yet they made a covenant on parting: "Thou shalt not only," said Jonathan, "while yet I live, show me the kindness of the Lord, that I die not; but also thou shalt not cut off thy kindness from my house for ever; no, not when the Lord hath cut off the enemies of David, every one from the face of the earth. . . . And Jonathan caused David to swear again, because he loved him, for he loved him as he loved his own soul." And then, while David hid himself, Jonathan made trial of Saul, how he felt disposed to David; and when he found that "it was determined of his father to slay David," he "arose from the table in fierce anger, and did eat no meat the second day of the month; for he was grieved for David, because his father had done him shame." Then in the morning he went out into the field, where David lay, and the last meeting took place between the two. "David arose out of a place toward the south, and fell on his face to the ground, and bowed himself three times; and they kissed one another, till David exceeded. And Jonathan said to David, Go in peace, forasmuch as we have sworn both of us in the name of the Lord, saying, The Lord be between me and thee, and between my seed and thy seed for ever. And he arose and departed; and Jonathan went into the city."

David's affection was given to a single heart; but there is another spoken of in Scripture, who had a thousand friends, and loved each as his own soul, and seemed to live a thousand lives in them, and died a thousand deaths when he must quit them—that great Apostle, whose very heart was broken when his brethren wept; who "was glad when he was weak and they were strong," and who was "willing to have imparted unto them his own soul, because they were dear unto him." Yet we read of his bidding farewell to whole Churches never to see them again. At one time, to the little ones of the flock; "When we had accomplished those days," said the Evangelist, "we departed and went our way . . . . with wives and children, till we were out of the city; and we kneeled down on the shore and prayed. And when we had taken our leave one of another, we took ship, and they returned home again." At another time, to the rulers of the Church: "And now behold," he says to them, "I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more. Wherefore I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men, for I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God. . . . I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel; . . . . I have shown you all things, how that so labouring ye ought to support the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how He said, It is more blessed to give than to receive." And then, when he had finished, "he kneeled down, and prayed with them all. And they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck, and kissed him; sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more. And they accompanied him unto the ship."

There was another time when he took leave of his "own son in the faith," Timothy, in words more calm, and still more impressive, when his end was nigh. "I am now ready to be offered," he says, "and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the Righteous Judge, shall give me at that day."

And what are all these instances but memorials and tokens of the Son of Man, when His work and His labour were coming to an end? Like Jacob, like Ishmael, like Elisha, like the

Evangelist whose day is just passed, He kept feast before His departure ; and, like David, He was persecuted by the rulers in Israel ; and, like Ishmael, He cried out, " I thirst " in a barren and dry land ; and at length, like Jacob, He went to sleep with a stone for His pillow, in the evening. And, like St. Paul, He had " finished the work which God gave Him to do," and had " witnessed a good confession," and, beyond St. Paul, " the Prince of this world had come, and had nothing in Him." " He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. He came unto His own and His own received Him not." Heavily did he leave, tenderly did He mourn over the country and city which rejected Him. " When He was come near, He beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace ! but now they are hid from thine eyes." And again : " O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not ! Behold your house is left unto you desolate."

A lesson surely, and a warning to us all, in every place where He puts His Name, to the end of time ; lest we be cold towards His gifts, or unbelieving towards His word, or jealous of his workings, or heartless towards His mercies. O mother of Saints ! O school of the wise ! O nurse of the heroic ! of whom went forth, in whom have dwelt, memorable names of old, to spread the truth abroad, or to cherish and illustrate it at home ! O thou, from whom surrounding nations lit their lamps ! O virgin of Israel ! wherefore dost thou now sit on the ground and keep silence, like one of those foolish women who were without oil on the coming of the Bridegroom ? Where is now the ruler in Sion, and the doctor in the Temple, and the ascetic on Carmel, and the herald in the wilderness, and the preacher in the market-place ? Where are thy " effectual fervent prayers," offered in secret, and thy alms and good works coming up as a memorial before God ? How is it, O once holy place, that " the land mourneth, for the corn is wasted, the new wine is dried up, the oil languisheth, ... because joy is withered away from the sons of men ? " " Alas for the day ! . . . how do the beasts groan ! the herds of

cattle are perplexed, because they have no pasture, yea, the flocks of sheep are made desolate." "Lebanon is ashamed and hewn down; Sharon is like a wilderness, and Bashan and Carmel shake off their fruits." O my mother, whence is this unto thee, that thou hast good things poured upon thee and canst not keep them, and bearest children, and darest not own them? Why hast thou not the skill to use their services, nor the heart to rejoice in their love? How is it that whatever is generous in purpose, and tender or deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise, falls from thy bosom and finds no home within thine arms? Who hath put this note upon thee, to have "a miscarrying womb and dry breasts," to be strange to thine own flesh, and thine eye cruel towards thy little ones? Thine own offspring, the fruit of thy womb, who love thee and would toil for thee, thou dost gaze upon with fear, as though a portent, or thou dost loathe as an offence—at best thou dost but endure, as if they had no claim but on thy patience, self-possession, and vigilance, to be rid of them as easily as thou mayest. Thou makest them "stand all the day idle," as the very condition of thy bearing with them; or thou biddest them be gone, where they will be more welcome; or thou sellest them for nought to the stranger that passes by. And what wilt thou do in the end thereof? . . . . Scripture is a refuge in any trouble; only let us be on our guard against seeming to use it further than is fitting, or doing more than sheltering ourselves under its shadow. Let us use it according to our measure. It is far higher and wider than our need; and it conceals our feelings while it gives expression to them. It is sacred and heavenly; and it restrains and purifies, while it sanctions them.

And now, my brethren, "bless God, praise Him and magnify Him, and praise Him for the things which He hath done unto you in the sight of all that live. It is good to praise God, and exalt His Name, and honourably to show forth the works of God; therefore be not slack to praise Him." "All the works of the Lord are good, and He will give thee every needful thing in due season; so that a man cannot say, This is worse than that; for in time they shall all be well approved. And therefore praise ye the Lord with the whole heart and mouth, and bless the Name of the Lord."

"Leave off from wrath, and let go displeasure; flee from

evil, and do the thing that is good." "Do that which is good, and no evil shall touch you." "Go your way; eat your bread with joy, and drink your wine with a merry heart, for God now accepteth your works; let your garments be always white, and let your head lack no ointment."

And O, my brethren, O kind and affectionate hearts, O loving friends, should you know anyone whose lot it has been by writing or by word of mouth in some degree to help you thus to act; if he has ever told you what you know about yourselves, or what you did not know; has read to you your wants or feelings, and comforted you by the very reading: has made you feel that there was a higher life than this daily one, and a brighter world than that you see; or encouraged you or sobered you, or opened a way to the inquiring, or soothed the perplexed; if what he has said or done has ever made you take interest in him, and feel well inclined towards him; remember such a one in time to come, though you hear him not, and pray for him, that in all things he may know God's will, and at all times he may be ready to fulfil it.

EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY (1800-1882)

DEAN CHURCH, in a striking simile, has compared the secession of Newman in October, 1845, to the blowing up of the *Orient* during the battle of the Nile, upon which followed, for a short space, an awed silence and cessation of fighting. Tractarianism, which had for nine years advanced with full sails, was now in dismayed and broken flight before the triumphant Liberals. Moreover its line of advance had been cut across by the Romanizing section headed by Oakley and "Ideal" Ward, who was stripped of his degrees on Feb. 13, 1845. Nevertheless, when Dr. Pusey preached his first academic sermon after the termination of his suspension, on Feb. 1, 1846, upon "The Entire Absolution of the Penitent," scarcely a murmur of hostility was heard. For one thing, the formularies of the Church of England are so much more explicit and unmistakable on the doctrine of Absolution than they are on Eucharistic doctrine that it would have been very dangerous to assail the sermon. The subject had been carefully chosen, after consultation with Keble. Yet it was a natural sequel to the suspended sermon, as the opening words declare. Pusey afterwards hoped it had "helped to quiet minds that were disturbed."

The story of the condemnation of the earlier sermon ("The Holy Eucharist, A Comfort to the Penitent") may be briefly extracted from Dean Church's *Oxford Movement*, chapters xiii and xvi.

"While the movement was making itself felt as a moral force, without parallel in Oxford for more than two centuries, what was the attitude of the University authorities?

"It was that of contemptuous indifference passing into helpless and passionate hostility. There is no sadder passage in the history of Oxford than the behaviour and policy of the

heads of this great Christian University towards the religious movement which was stirring the interest, the hopes, the fears of Oxford. The movement was, for its first years at least, a loyal and earnest effort to create a sincere and intelligent zeal for the Church, and at making the Church itself worthy of the great position which her friends claimed for her. Its leaders were men in the first rank in point of ability and character, men of religious and pure, if also severe, lives. They were not men merely of speculation and criticism, but men ready to forgo anything, to devote everything, for the practical work of elevating religious thought and life. All this did not necessarily make their purposes and attempts wise and good; but it did entitle them to respectful attention. If they spoke language new to the popular mind or the 'religious world,' it was not new to orthodox Churchmen, with opportunities of study and acquainted with our best divinity. If their temper was eager and enthusiastic, they alleged the presence of a great and perilous crisis. Their appeal was mainly not to the general public, but to the sober and learned. The men of the movement were not mere hostile innovators; they were fighting for what the University and its chiefs held dear and sacred. These . . . were blind and dull as tea-table gossips to the meaning of the movement. In their apathy, in their self-satisfied ignorance, in their dullness of apprehension and forethought, the authorities of the University let pass the great opportunity of their time. . . But on the side of the party of the rapidly growing movement there were mistakes also. No one gave more serious warning against this and other dangers than the leaders."

After describing the rally effected by the opponents of the movement after the first years of astonishing success, the policy of combat decided on, and the singling out of Pusey himself, the Regius Professor of Hebrew, for "the severest blow yet struck," Dean Church remarks:—

"Dr. Pusey was a person with whom it was not wise to meddle,

unless his assailants could make out a case without a flaw. He was without question the most venerated person in Oxford. Without an equal, in Oxford at least, in the depth and range of his learning, he stood out yet more impressively among his fellows in the lofty moral elevation and simplicity of his life, the blamelessness of his youth, and the profound devotion of his manhood. Stern and severe in his teaching at one time beyond even the severity of Puritanism, he was yet overflowing with affection, tender and sympathetic to all who came near him, and in the midst of continual controversy he endeavoured, with deep conscientiousness, to avoid the bitterness of controversy.

" On the 24th of May, 1843, Dr. Pusey, intending to balance and complement the severe and, to many, the disquieting aspects of doctrine in his work on Baptism, preached on the Holy Eucharist as a comfort to the penitent. He spoke of it as a disciple of Andrewes and Bramhall might speak of it ; it was a high Anglican sermon, full, after the example of the Homilies, Jeremy Taylor and devotional writers like George Herbert and Bishop Ken, of the fervid language of the Fathers ; and that was all. Beyond this it did not go ; its phraseology was strictly within Anglican limits. In the course of the week that followed, the University was surprised by the announcement that Dr. Faussett, the Margaret Professor of Divinity, had '*delated*' the sermon to the Vice-chancellor as teaching heresy."

The statutory Six Doctors, one of whom was Dr. Faussett himself, were appointed to consider the sermon, and on June 2nd it came to be known that Dr. Pusey had been condemned for teaching doctrine contrary to that of the Church of England, and that the Vice-chancellor had suspended him from preaching for two years. Just two years before, when in Ireland, he had had the painful experience of being requested by his old Oriel friend and colleague, Archbishop Whately, not to enter the pulpit. Pusey was one of Dr. Arnold's

"handful of obscure fanatics" who "turn sense into silliness and holiness into formality and hypocrisy."

Between June, 1843, and February, 1846, grave events had happened. Pusey was "half broken-hearted," but his loyalty stood like the Peak of Teneriffe, above the storm and the cloud. His voice now sounded out once more, solemn, austere, holy and beautiful, like the voice of an archangel given to the Church of England to guide her through terror and gloom.

In Liddon's *Life of Dr. Pusey* there is a sketch, made at the time, of Pusey in the pulpit of Christ Church, Oxford, preaching the sermon which is here given. Dr. Liddon's graphic description of the scene should be referred to. At the end of the sermon was a valuable Appendix of citations "from Writers of our later English Church on the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist," beginning with Ridley. My dear and venerable friend, Archdeacon Francis Lear, who also remembers Newman's last University sermon and who was present when Keble was inducted into the rectory of Hursley, has a vivid recollection of the historic occasion.

The Entire Absolution of the Penitent

Then said Jesus unto them again, Peace be unto you. As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost; Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whoso soever sins ye retain, they are retained. St. John xx, 21-23.

It will be in the memory of some that when, nearly three years past, Almighty God (for "secret faults," which He knoweth, and from which, I trust, He willed thereby the rather to "cleanse" me,) allowed me to be deprived for a time of this my office among you, I was endeavouring to mitigate the stern doctrine of the heavy character of a Christian's sins by pointing out the mercies of God which might reassure the penitent, the means of his restoration, the earnests of his pardon. And in so doing it seemed best, first to dwell upon the unfathomable mercies of God in Christ, the exhaustless abyss of mercy in the Infinite Fountain of Mercy—when it is not finally shut out—infinite as Himself, as being poured out from His Infinity;

and then, more directly, on all those untold and ineffable mercies contained in the Intercession of our Lord, at the Right Hand of God, for us. For so, I hoped, would the hearts of penitents be the more fixed upon Him, the source of all mercies, and their faith be strengthened, and they the more hope that no depth of *past* sin could utterly sever them from the love of Christ, nay, could sever them from no degree or fulness of His unspeakable love. For what limit shall there be to His tender mercy, Who devised that wondrous scheme of man's redemption, and gave His Only-Begotten, Co-equal, Son, that man, the work of His hands, should not perish? What bounds to the compass of His love, who, being Eternal God, so compassionated us as to take our nature upon Him, that He might die for us; and not die only, "but live to make intercession for us?" What bounds to His power to restore, who hath "all power in Heaven and in earth," and as yet exerciseth that power to restore us? What an infinite depth must there be in that love which joined our lowliness to His Majesty, took our misery, to impart to us His Mercy, His Love and His Joy! And so I hoped that both they who, educated in imperfect systems, suspect all who speak of the channels of Divine Mercy, as though they forgot Him, its everflowing Source, might be less indisposed to the truth; and that they who received the truth might have their souls the more fixed upon Him Who is the truth, and by Whom to us is all grace and truth. And when, further, I began to speak of the means by which God applies that grace, I wished to dwell upon those sacred Gifts by which He vouchsafes to impart it *to* us, before I spoke of those acts of our own, yet equally His Gifts *in* us, by which He worketh it *in* us; that so we might the more have it impressed upon us, that all is of Him. And, of these Gifts, I spoke first of the Holy Eucharist, rather than of the special application of the power of the Keys, because I hoped that on that great Gift, whereof we all habitually partake, we might be the rather one, and not dispute (as I never meant to speak controversially) upon the Gifts which He left as "the pledges of His love"; whereas, since the special use of the power of the Keys was, in the last unhappy century, so much laid aside, and has been but partially resumed, and the very language of our Divines or the Reformers is so unfamiliar at least to men's minds and sympathies,

I could not but fear that it might to many seem an unaccustomed teaching, distinctly as it is owned by our Church. I dwelt then first on the comfort of the Holy Eucharist to the penitent, as a Sacrament and as a commemorative Sacrifice. As a Sacrament, because, in the words of our Liturgy, in It " our sinful bodies are made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most Precious Blood " ; as a commemorative Sacrifice, I will simply rehearse to you some of the words of the apostolic Bishop Wilson, who, in his Sacra Privata, thus prays : " May it please Thee, O God, who hast called us to this ministry, to make us worthy to offer unto Thee this Sacrifice for our own sins and for the sins of Thy people."

And now, brethren, I would proceed to speak of that great authoritative act whereby God in the Church still forgives the sins of the penitent. For all forgiveness of sin, as every gift of mercy or of grace, by whomsoever or howsoever it comes to us, is from Him. Baptizing, absolving, teaching, consecrating, the Church or her Ministers are not instead of, but the instruments of, Christ. " God alone," says S. Pacian, " can forgive sin. True ! But that also which He doth through His priests is His own power." " The Novatians," says S. Ambrose, " say that they show reverence to the Lord, reserving to Him alone the power of forgiving sins. But indeed none do Him greater wrong than they who would rescind His commands, and cast back upon Himself the office He committed to them. For since the Lord Jesus Himself said in His Gospel, ' Receive the Holy Ghost ; whose sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whose sins ye retain, they are retained,' who honours Him most, he who obeyeth His commands or he who resisteth ? The Church in both observeth obedience, both in binding and loosing sin." " Why," he says again, " baptize ye, if sins may not be remitted through man ? For in Baptism is the remission of all sins. Where is the difference, whether through penitence or through the laver the priests exert this power given to them ? One is the mystery in both. But thou sayest that in the laver the grace of the mysteries worketh. What in penitence ? Worketh not the name of God ? " And again, on those solemn words, " It is impossible to renew them," " God is able, when He willeth, to forgive us sins, even those which we think cannot be forgiven. And, therefore, what to us seemeth impossible

to be obtained, to God it is possible to grant. It seemed impossible that water should wash away sin, or that sins should be forgiven through penitence; Christ granted this to His Apostles, which from the Apostles was transmitted to the office of the priests; that, therefore, was rendered possible which seemed impossible." Once more: "It cannot be doubted that the Spirit forgiveth sins, since the Lord Himself saith, 'Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye remit, they shall be remitted.' See how sins are forgiven by the Holy Ghost. But to the remission of sins men supply their ministry, yet do not exercise the right of any power; for they do not forgive sins in their own, but in the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. They pray; God giveth. The execution is through man; the richness of the gift is from the Power on High." And Origen on the same point: "He on whom Jesus hath breathed forgiveth whom God would forgive, and retaineth incurable sins, ministering unto God, Who alone hath the power of forgiving, even as the prophets ministered unto God in speaking not their own, but what was of the Divine, will." And S. Chrysostom: "Whatsoever the priest hath entrusted to him is of God alone to give—and why say I priests? Neither Angel nor Archangel can effect anything as to the things given by God, but the Father, Son and Holy Spirit dispenseth all; yet the priest lendeth his tongue and affordeth his hand." And in like manner S. Augustine.

And this efficacy, we, to whom God has given our lot in this portion of the Church, must in general believe; our own acts of devotion bear witness to us. For this was the express reason why, in our daily service, a solemn Confession and Absolution precede the use of the Lord's Prayer and the Psalms, that so we might become fitter to use His Divine words, and to praise Him. We are directed to receive the Absolution kneeling, both at the daily service and at the Holy Communion: a humble posture, which we do not use at any mere exhortation or declaration or teaching. Itself is entitled, "The Absolution or remission of sins, to be *pronounced* by the priest alone"—for which, in a daughter-Church, "the *declaration* of Absolution to be made by the priest alone," was substituted in compromising times. "Almighty God," it solemnly rehearseth, "hath given *power* and commandment" to His ministers, not "to declare" only, but "to pronounce to His people,

being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins." Now "power" implies an authoritative act; and to "pronounce our pardon," if penitent, is a present act, not a mere abstract declaration that God forgiveth the penitent. Such is our least solemn form of Absolution. And it has been often observed how, as the penitence may in each case be supposed to be deeper, the Absolution by the Church becomes more authoritative and fuller; until, at last, in the private absolution, when the conscience most feels its burden, and has laid it down at the Feet of our Lord, she speaks, with the full consciousness of the authority, by Apostolic descent transmitted to her, words which, if not authorised, were blasphemy—"By His authority committed unto me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Nor can there be, in this, any question of freeing from the censures of the Church, and of restoring to communion, from which among ourselves none, except on individual responsibility, are in practice shut out, who do not shut out themselves. It is a private act between the sinner's soul and God, in the presence of His priest, the sinner seeking to have the burden of his sin relieved, the priest declaring, in the Name of the Holy Trinity, "By His Authority, committed unto me, I absolve thee." And to this such among us as are parochial ministers are bound to invite their people, to "open their grief," not in sickness only, but before the Holy Communion, if they cannot "quiet their own consciences," that they "may receive the benefit of Absolution." And in visiting the sick our Church directs those who will obey her, "to move the sick person to make a *special* confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter"; not to wait for him, but ourselves to "move him thereto"; and then, "if he humbly and heartily desire it," thus to absolve him. And "His Authority" so to do was, we know, conveyed to us in the very words in which it was given by our Lord to the Apostles; so that whatever authority they conveyed to the Apostles they do, thus far, convey to us also: "which although," says S. Pacian, "for our sins it be presumptuous to claim, yet God, who hath granted unto Bishops the name of even His Only Beloved, will not deny it unto them."

And all this doctrine of our Church as to Absolution is the

more solemn, as not being a profession only in the sight of men, but embodied in acts in the name of Almighty God Himself—in His daily worship ; at the Holy Communion, or in earnest preparation for it ; and when the soul is approaching for its last conflict, for that moment which sums up all the past, and shall decide eternity. The sacred stillness at the Holy Communion, when, after the deep confession which our Church gives us, one voice alone is heard, and we, the rest, in silence receive it ; the intense earnest longing with which the penitent awaits those words of awful comfort which the Church commissions her priests to pronounce, or the thrill of awe which any of us must ourselves have felt when we sinners had to take on our lips her words, " by His Authority I absolve thee," and that in the Name of the All-Holy Trinity, may well make us think more deeply, how very solemn the doctrine is which is so embodied.

There is a further, in some sense more awful and more painful, part of the doctrine of the Keys, to which our Church also bears witness, the power not to loose only, but to bind ; not to remit only, but to retain sin. She yearly expresses her sorrow at the loss of the " godly discipline " whereby " persons who stood convicted of notorious sin were put to open penance, and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the Day of the Lord " ; and in her Articles (Art. XXXIII) she speaks of such as, being " cut off from the unity of the Church," are to be counted " as heathens," " until they be openly reconciled by penance." But this whole subject of discipline does not belong to me. Nor need I speak of that power of " binding " which, equally with that of " loosing," is in our Church conferred on her priests in the Name of the Holy Trinity ; since such a power is to be exercised only towards the impenitent : our office is chiefly with the penitent. The one object, as I have explained, of this series of sermons is to minister to one class of souls, those whose consciences being oppressed by the memory of past sin, more or less grievous, long to know how they may be replaced in that condition in which God once placed them ; and now, too, my object is, not to speak of discipline in general, or what were best for the Church or for her members generally, but of that mercy which, by the power of the Keys, God pours out upon the penitent.

This, then, is probably one ground why so little needed to

be said in the New Testament as to the forgiveness of sins of a Christian very grievously fallen, that our Lord had left a living provision in His Church, whereby all penitents, however fallen, should be restored. In healthful times, when discipline was observed, and people were in earnest about their souls, and felt the pressure of their sins, and the darkness of the absence of Divine grace, and a healthful fear of the wrath of God, there needed not proof that sins could be forgiven, because their forgiveness was seen, and witnessed, and felt, and shone forth in the renewed health and life of the soul. When the Church, " with whom," in the language of a Father, " there was one hope, one fear, one joy, one suffering, because there is One Spirit from One Lord and Father, grieved together," over the fall of " one of her numbers," " together laboured for its cure," and was gladdened by the holy conversation of restored penitents, and their victories in conflicts wherein they had before been vanquished, she knew that the gift of reconciliation had been lodged in her, in which the whole Body took part. Mourning with those who mourned, she knew the rather that they were comforted, whose restoration was furthered by her love and deep sighs and prayers. The discipline under which the penitent was brought, and was humbled, was the very token of his restoration. He felt the power lodged in the Church to bind, and its very exercise assured him that he might be loosed. He saw those, once, with himself, oppressed by Satan, set free ; and he knew that the inward bonds by which Satan held him, the cords of his sins and the iron chains of evil habits, might be loosed. The Church could give account of the source of her powers to any who might be entitled to ask her, and could appeal to the commission given her by her Lord ; the workings of that power were the pledge to individuals. When she, in her Lord's Name, said to the lame, " Arise, and walk," and to the leper, " Be cleansed," and to the blind, " Wash in the pool of Siloam," *i.e.*, of " Him who is sent," and the palsy of past sin was healed, and men " ran the way of God's commandments," the leprosy and defilement of sin fell off, and " their flesh was turned to them like the flesh of a little child " ; and they who had been dried up by the decrepitude of sin became anew " like little children," " of whom is the kingdom of heaven " ; and the blind through trespasses and sins " saw everything clearly " ; and those whose

very senses were defiled could taste anew the sweetness of heavenly things, " and the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come "—when through His Gifts in the Church God wrought such spiritual miracles as these, no one needed to ask, " By what power or authority doest thou these things ? " When by her healing she showed that she was clad with the power of her Lord, none needed to question whether she had the authority of her Lord Who by her healed. When the lame arose and walked, none after that asked Him, " Who is this that forgiveth sins also ? "

And if any ask her yet, when she hath said to one crippled by sin, " In the Name of Jesus of Nazareth, rise up and walk,"—" By what power or by what name have ye done this ? "—her answer is still that of S. Peter : " His Name, through faith in His Name, hath made this man strong ; yea, the faith which is by Him hath given him this perfect soundness in the presence of you all." His Name is it, through faith in His Name, which healeth, although pronounced by her, at His bidding.

Thus the practice of the Church became the comment upon Holy Scripture, upon which that practice rested ; as, in other practice, the Apostolic rite of infant baptism pointed out a meaning of our Lord's words,—" Suffer little children to come unto me,"—about which we might otherwise have doubted ; or, in doctrine, the Creeds, which rest on Holy Scripture, teach us meanings of the Divine Word, and saving truths of faith, which, but for them, we should never have perceived. To the believer, because he believes, the full truth of the Gospel sheds its light upon the whole of Holy Scripture, and is reflected and flashes forth from it. The Church proposes, faith receives, the Holy Ghost teaches, Scripture establishes, holy living roots it fast in us, devotion makes it part of ourselves ; or rather, the same Holy Spirit worketh all in us, teaching us, and making our hearts teachable ; imparting to us the truth, in form in the Creeds, in substance in Holy Scripture, and opening our hearts to believe, and love, and worship, until through love and devotion we live in and on that faith, as the breath of our spiritual life—ever, as in our natural life, renewed and sustained by Him, ever unconsciously anew received by us, yet never parted with, until, as part of ourselves, it passeth with us into that blessed world where it melts into sight of Him whom here, not seeing, it loved.

This commission, upon which the authority of the Church rests, as it has ever been understood by the Church itself, was given, in part in different words, at three different times. Before the Resurrection, first to S. Peter, as a type of unity: "I give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven"; and then, in the same words, to all the Apostles. Both these in promise; and then to all in fulfilment, in that solemn inauguration, the commencement of their Apostolate, with the visible token that the Comforter, Who proceeded from Him, came upon them: "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." Full of majesty and awe is the commission, full of instruction. The greatness of the power intrusted to man might well exceed our belief, and make us tremble to execute it, and almost doubt, as men have doubted, whether they had it. "What angel in Heaven," says our own Hooker, "could have said to man as our Lord did to Peter, 'Feed My Sheep: Preach, Baptize: Do this in remembrance of Me. Whose sins ye retain, they are retained; and their offences in heaven pardoned whose faults ye shall on earth forgive'? What think we? are these terrestrial sounds, or else are they voices uttered out of the clouds above?" So then our Lord premises His commission with those full brief words, conveying at once both the extent of the commission, and a rule and guidance in it. "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." The very words are beforehand a comfort to the penitent. For to whom was our Lord sent, but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, to seek and to save that which was lost, to "those who needed a physician" and knew their need, to "call not the righteous but sinners to repentance?" "He sets forth at once," says S. Cyril, "the dignity of the Apostolate and the incomparable glory of the power given them, and suggests, as it seems, the path of Apostolic offices. For if He deemed right so to send His own disciples as the Father sent Him, how must not they who are to be followers of them needs have in view, to what end the Father sent His Son? Comprehending then in few words the Apostolic office, He said that He sent them as the Father sent Him, that they might thence know that they ought to call sinners to repentance, to heal the sick in body or in spirit, in all the orderings of their doings not to

seek anyhow their own will; and, as far as was possible, by their Doctrine to save the world."

And as He Himself was "anointed by the Spirit to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound," so, when He sent them in His stead, He imparted to them the Comforter, Who, being from Himself as from the Father, was to replace Himself. "When He had said this, He breathed upon them, and saith unto them, Receive the Holy Spirit." As an earnest at once of the gift to be bestowed at the Day of Pentecost, and a gift of sanctification for this immediate office, and to show that the Holy Spirit, Who should come from above, is from Him also, and Consubstantial with Himself, and that He who created man in His own Image, breathing into His nostrils the breath of life, was now about to re-create them in a more Divine and perfect way by union with Himself, "He breathed upon them," and imparted to them the Holy Ghost. And then He saith to them the solemn words, "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained."

But when we understand our Blessed Lord in the plain meaning of His words, of a power lodged in His Church to forgive sins in His Name, then the very words themselves express the fulness of the pardon. As our Lord sent His Apostles in the same way in which the Father had sent Him, so the word by which He expresses the power to forgive is the very word by which He Himself forgave. "Whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them" (ἀφέωνται) is the blessed echo of His own words, "Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee" (ἀφέωνται)—the very word by which He prayed for His murderers and all penitents upon the Cross, and teaches us in His own prayer, when we pray, to ask for forgiveness; the very word under which He declared that "all sins and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men" spake of the entire forgivenness by our Heavenly Father to those who repent. For the fulness of which, the Scribes disputed His authority, "Who is this that forgiveth sins also?" By which He claimed that power to Himself, "That ye may know that the Son of Man hath power upon earth to forgive sins." And now in the same words He leaves it to those whom He left in His Name to carry on His work on earth. But if any

would restrain this to the Apostles only, "why," as S. Pacian says, "do they not in the like way restrain Baptism also"? Either, both were confined to the Apostles only, or both were committed to that Church with which our Lord promised to be "always to the end of the world"; by Baptism, to remit all sin original or actual, by Absolution, to remit all which, by the frailty of our nature, any may afterwards contract; by Baptism to bring into His fold, by Absolution to restore those who had wandered from it.

What sins then may there be remitted? All which are not excepted; and these are none. "He saith," says S. Pacian, "'whatsoever ye shall loose.' He excepted nothing whatever. 'Whatsoever,' He says, great or small." All may be forgiven, for which God puts into the heart the desire to be forgiven. The unpardonable sin is therefore alone not forgiven (S. Augustine says) because the sinner asks not for forgiveness.

Nothing can be more absolute than the words, "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them." No sin then is excepted for its greatness; none for their multitude. He saith, "Whatsoever ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven"; no sinner is excepted, however deeply ingrained by old, inveterate, accumulated sins; though his sins be upon him, and weigh him down that he be not able to look up, and defile his memory, and cloud his faith, and destroy the power of other ordinances, and chill the heart, and weaken the will, or even bring on him relapses, let him, with earnest purpose, lay down all his sins at our dear Lord's Feet, hating them for His love's sake Who has so loved him; and He has said, "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them."

Nor again does he put us off for that forgiveness to a distant day. The effects of sin upon the soul may often be to be worked out by sorrow and toil; the forfeited crown and larger favour of Almighty God to be gained by subsequent self-denial or suffering for Him or devoted service. But we have the very craving of our hearts. Our sins, when we are fit to receive the blessed words, are forgiven at once. "They *are*," our gracious Lord says, "forgiven unto them (*ἀφέωνται*)"; as though He would express the swiftness of His pardon, in the same way as it is promised in the prophet, "Thou shalt call and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry and He shall say, Here I

am" ; so now, so soon as His priest has, in His Name, pronounced his forgiveness on earth, the sins of the true penitent are forgiven in Heaven, " Whose soever sins ye remit, they *are* remitted unto them."

The word *ἀφέωνται* contains in one a whole Gospel of forgiveness—a whole volume, filled within and without, and traced by the finger of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, all that the penitent's heart craves for, full, present, absolute, universal forgiveness and release.

And then, too, the Psalms which the Church daily puts into our mouths ; the histories of penitents which she recites to us as examples ; the Evangelic prophets ; all, with the depth of their sorrows and the gladness of their restoration, may belong to us ; all, in the words of our good Bishop Andrewes, " The writings of the law, the oracles of Prophets, the melody of Psalms, the instruction of Proverbs, the experience of Histories," each supply some separate note in the divine harmony of that Angel-chorus, " Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men."

Surely, then, our reverent Hooker has well said, " I hold it for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that, when a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst."

Why then do men shrink back from this plain meaning of our Lord's words ? Why but for some imaginations of inherent unfitness, that they cannot reconcile to themselves how we should have such treasure in earthen vessels, how this power should be intrusted to those who might not use it aright, or might make it but an occasion of sin.

But is it then a new thing for God to " perfect praise through babes," or overcome wisdom by folly, or make weakness His strength ? " O wretched unbelief," says a Father, " who deniest to God His own proper qualities, simplicity and power ! " Is it not, on that very account, more according to all the analogy of God's dealings since the foundation of the world ? Hath not He Who hung the earth upon nothing, and has made sand the bound of the proud waves of the sea, and man, of all the weakest, the Lord of this earthly creation, when He had breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and cast around him the robe of original innocency, hath not He ever shown His Almightiness in seeming weakness, that it

might be seen that the excellency was of Him ? When has he not used means, inadequate, in order to bring about His ends ? How is it stranger than that the Lord should hearken to the voice of a man, and the sun obey the voice of him who said, " Sun, stand thou still " ; or that, through the indwelling of His Spirit, the voice of the tent-maker in bonds should make Felix tremble, and almost persuade a king in his pomp to belong to the " sect every where spoken against," and subdue the Imperial City, and silence the wise of this world, and run through the world, making Jew, and Greek, and Barbarian, obedient to the faith ? " It is not ye that speak," saith our Lord, " but the spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." " That man from the earth," says S. Gregory the Great, " might have so great power, the Creator of heaven and earth came to earth from heaven ; and, that the flesh might judge spirits, the Lord, made Flesh for man, vouchsafed to bestow this upon him, because thereby did human weakness rise beyond itself, that Divine Might was made weak below Itself." It may be one of the fruits of the Incarnation, and a part of the dignity thereby conferred upon our nature, that God would rather work His miracles of grace through man than immediately by Himself. It may be part of the Mystery of the Passion, that God would rather bestow Its fruits through those who can suffer with us, through toil and suffering, than without them. It may be part of the purpose of His Love, that love should increase while one member suffers with another, and relieves another.

God, indeed, when He intrusteth man with His Divine Authority, doth not part with it so as to confirm that which through the sin, either of him who useth it, or him for whom it is used, is done contrary to His Will. " Pardon," says S. Pacian, " is in such wise not refused to true penitence as that no one thereby prejudgeth the future Judgment of Christ." " We do not," says S. Cyprian, " anticipate the judgment of the Lord Who will come to judge, but that, if He shall find a sinner's penitence full and entire, He will then ratify what has been determined by us. But if any have deluded us by a feigned penitence, God, Who ' is not mocked,' and Who ' looketh on the heart ' of man, will judge of those whom we have not seen through, and the Lord will correct the sentence of His servants." Yet doth not God less, through His

servants, what is done aright in His Name because others speak in that Name perversely. He spake through His true prophets, although others, whom He sent not, in His Name " prophesied deceits " ; He said to His Priests, " Ye are gods," giving sentence through the name of God ; although to such as judged unjustly He said, " Ye shall die like men." Baptism is not less " the laver of regeneration " because it benefits not those who receive it feignedly ; nor is the Holy Eucharist less the Bread of Life because to those " who will presume to receive it unworthily " " it doth nothing else than increase their damnation." He doth not the less speak through those who preach His Gospel because others " proclaim " or preach " Christ out of envy and strife " ; nor doth He less by the Church loose true penitents because they who come feignedly to His Ordinance do, by this fresh sin, but rivet all their former sins faster upon them.

My whole object, brethren, in all this which I would say, is the comfort of penitents, according to the provisions which our Church has made for them. Elsewhere I have sought, from the practice of Primitive Antiquity, to vindicate the practical state of our Church, in which confession is dispensed with as a matter of necessity, and left to the consciences of individuals. Yet certainly they who, leaving private confession discretionary, put their hand to the work of restoring public discipline thought not that things would be amongst us as they now are ; for Ridley spoke of public discipline as " one of the marks whereby the true Church is known in this dark world," and Latimer (with others) saith, " To speak of right and true Confession, I would to God it were kept in England ; for it is a good thing." Yet God, Who in His Wisdom suffered their designs to come to nought, has thereby the more cast the Church upon herself, and, we may trust, would make her discipline the purer, in that He has deprived her of all outward aid in restoring it. And we may even be thankful that the rules which remain, requiring all her members to partake of her ordinances, have passed into disuse. For this is most certain, that to encourage indiscriminately the approach to the Holy Communion, without a corresponding inward system whereby they, who are entitled so to do, should know intimately the hearts of those whom they so encourage, has brought with it an amount of carelessness and profanation

which, if known, would make many a heart of those who have so done sink and quake.

It is, then, we may trust, of God's manifold mercy to this portion of His Church, that He has, at the same time, by His Providence allowed almost all remains of that outward compulsory system to be broken down, and by His Spirit within has aroused, and is arousing, people's consciences more and more to desire the full provisions which He has laid up in her for wounded souls. For so shall the whole be the more seen to be His work, and discipline be not the constraint of the disobedient, but, as oftentimes in the oldest times, the longed-for refuge of earnest minds, the binding-up of the broken-hearted, the austere yet loved chastisement of the flesh, " that the soul may be saved in the day of the Lord." We can bear no sudden restoration. But in this and all things we need but patiently to await for His Hand, Who is so graciously and wonderfully restoring us. That type of fatherly rule must be the characteristic of our Church—" volentes per populos dat jura." " The people shall be willing in the day of Thy power."

We must patiently await until God gives to parents more anxious care for their children, or more confidence in her ministers, or to us more skill in guarding the souls of youth. All will be well with our Church, if man outruns not by his impatience the deep, orderly movements of the Spirit of God. Yet since on this very subject, unhappily, a vague suspicion in general prevails among us, and this is fostered now by the work of an infidel of impure mind in another land, we need the more the common warning, which has been raised again and again during the three last centuries, that amid any corrupt abuses, through man's wickedness, of the individual application of the power of the Keys, we ourselves lose not its healthful use. According to the state of the Church, the influence of the clergy must raise or depress the people committed to their charge ; they will, by God's appointment and gracious help, aid to lift them up towards Heaven, or with them they will sink deeper into Hell. And the more sacred and nearer the intercourse, the more blessed must it be, or the more deadly. But whatsoever may be conceived of evil, in any state of the Church, from men of corrupt minds, ravening wolves in sheep's clothing, there is the less fear, when God is restoring her.

Whatever danger there may be, in any case, lest an unskilful Priest should convey knowledge of evil to the soul, instead of guarding it (and too scrupulous tender care of this there cannot be, aided by constant prayer to God,) *our* peril lies not here. We are not in peril when we fear, but when we fear not. Our peril is from that which Satan through these fears would the more hide from us, the unhindered tide of corruption, which sweeps away its tens of thousands, when the heart, unopened to parent or priest, does lie open to Satan's snares. Meantime, there is the more exceeding reason for more earnest prayer to God, to break this power and malice of Satan, and strengthen His own kingdom in the hearts of men.

But, meantime, neither this nor aught besides for which our good Bishop Andrewes prayed, as things yet "lacking to us," should have any weight in diminishing the comfort of any in this our portion of the Church, in which God has bestowed upon us so many blessings from our childhood until now. It has been well said, "Pray to God for a guide, and He will give thee a guide, or Himself will guide thee." He, Who is stirring people's souls to long to disburthen themselves will not fail, among us, the hearts which He hath stirred. He will not, through our unskilfulness, be wanting to His own Ordinance. Meantime, it is certain, by the consent of the Universal Church, that who so is truly contrite of any the most deadly sin—all which the Ancient Church subjected to years of penitence, and then by imposition of hands formally restored—yea, if he had on him the sins of the whole world, and longeth for Absolution, is absolved. And if the comfort is for a time withheld, while as yet he knows not to whom to turn, who knows what deeper penitence God may not amid this suspense be working in his soul? God's delays are man's benefits. "Ask, and ye shall receive."

Then, too, as penitence deepens, the daily and Eucharistic absolutions will come with greater power to the soul. If now to many they seem to avail but little, it is not that the Absolution is powerless, but that repentance, upon which alone it is bestowed, is cold. If, indeed, "with *hearty* repentance and true faith we turn unto Him," if "the remembrance of our sin is indeed grievous unto us, and the burden of them intolerable," His mercy will not be wanting to us, His absolving sentence belongs directly to us. "When," in the words of

Hooker, " in the confession, every man, prostrate, as it were, before His glorious Majesty, crieth ' guilty ' against himself, and the minister with one sentence pronounceth universally all clear whose acknowledgment so made hath proceeded from a true penitent mind, what reason is there every man should not, under the general terms of confession, represent to himself his own particulars whatsoever, and, adjoining thereunto that affection which a contrite spirit worketh, embrace to as full effect the words of Divine Grace as if the same were severally and particularly uttered with addition of prayers, imposition of hands, or all the ceremonies and solemnities that might be used for the strengthening of men's affiance in God's peculiar mercy towards them ? "

Yet this very restoration brings new and difficult duties upon us to whom God has entrusted that most solemn and Divine office. There is no choice. Consciences are daily awakened by God's Spirit, some to the knowledge of a frightful past, others, it may be, are unduly burthened. Satan, in the absence of skilful advisers who might guard the soul against evil, at first subtle, but very desolating, has spread his snares with a dreadful wisdom. Luxury, and the sins of a self-indulgent people, the corruption transmitted from one brief generation of youth to another, or self-originated through the early deceits of Satan, have spread among us a widely-wasting mass of evil, unknown mostly, unwarned against, and therefore the more destructive. Too many know how sin, commenced with scarce the knowledge that it was sin, has, for years of life, cankered every purpose of good ; perhaps prepared for deeper, more overt, deadly sin !

Yet, whether of such or of any other sins, the more God brings before the souls of men the awful reality of our existence, and the endless bliss or woe which hangs upon this life's breath, the deeper and more frequent must be the longing of men to disburthen their souls. With deeper sense of the sinfulness of sin, needs, new to us, but for which our Church provides, have sprung up. And we, in our several callings, must not (if we would have the blessing of God) be wanting either to the Church or to " the sheep of Christ whom He bought with His Death, and for whom He shed His Blood." Yet, blessed as the office is, and like our Blessed Lord's own, to relieve the burthen of the clogged and choked heart by

receiving it, still, from the experience of those who have exercised that holy ministry, it must be said that there is none so full of peril to those who have not, by penitence and mortification, or the continual sanctifying grace of God, or some sharp, penetrating, severing stroke, been deadened to the things of time, and, in the full aim and desire of their heart, are seeking to live to God. Sin is an awful thing to handle. To hear of it continually, and not to be defiled with it nor dulled to it; to compassionate a fellow-sinner, and be austere with self; to hear of the defilement of every sense, and keep watch over his own; comes not from man himself, but from the continued, preserving, guarding, refreshing grace of God, which keeps the whole man stayed upon, looking to, sealed by, Him. It is, then, a call the more to us so to cleave fast to God that those committed to our charge may rightly place trust in us, to be jealously watchful over ourselves, guard speech habitually, if we are to receive the solemn secrets of men's inmost souls; train ourselves in holy discipline, that we may be fitted to train others, not be blind leaders of the blind; strict with ourselves, that we may know how to be tenderly careful of others; hate all the motions of sin in ourselves, that we may teach others to hate it with a holy shrinking; be fervent ourselves, that we may inspire others with a holy fervour; love Him much, Who, we trust, hath forgiven us, that we may teach others, being much forgiven, much to love; and study deep humility and fervent prayer, lest we fall into any snare of the Devil. For, as the reward is great, so is the peril. And it may often be desirable that before any exercise the Physician's office (although none from the sense of their own unworthiness should refuse it in case of need) he should himself lay open some festering oppressive sin of his own bosom.

Nor is the increase of the individual application of the "power of the Keys" among us any (so to speak) new and untried use of what lies in the letter of our liturgy. It was used in times past, nor ever wholly disused, however overlaid in the lukewarmness of the last century, or overlooked in the revival of piety, when, at first, it took a direction too little influenced by the provisions of our Church. And now, again, its increased use has not been the result of any theory, or of any wish on the part of any of the priesthood to restore what they thought to be for the benefit of the Church. It originated,

not in the agency of man, but in the Grace and Providence of Almighty God, shaking the inmost souls of penitents, and giving them the longing for that relief which He has appointed.

And as this, amid the manifold distresses of this time, is a great encouragement and hope for the future (for what is from Him must prosper), so too are the blessed fruits which all have seen who in these latter days have been called upon to exercise this sacred ministry. For gifts of grace are not of man, but the operation of our Blessed Lord, through the Holy Spirit, sanctioning among us the commission which He gave.

And if any here feel the burthen of past sin, some single, heavier sin, as a load upon his conscience, or some enduring evil habit, or a subtle ensnaring offence, again and again rising up against him, or some hateful spell of past evil doing, which seems to leave his soul in darkness, and paralyse him as to all more holy, devoted purposes : it may be a blessed knowledge that others, like him, were once burthened, and now their lightened hearts mount up in love and thankfulness. They who were once slaves of sin now are the freedmen of God. They once strove ineffectually, struggling for a while, yet ever in the end dragged captive ; now they strive victoriously in the Peace and Light and Love of God.

It is one of the especial blessings of this place that each is assigned to the care of one who, by his sacred office, is bound to care for his soul. Blessed as that relation has been to many of us, more blessed far might it be to the young, would they recollect that they, with whom they are brought into this relation, are not mere guardians of discipline, but Ministers of God. And if the soul of any be burthened, they are, by the very name of their office,[1] protectors, guardians, and in the place of parents. We need no new relations, but to bring into fuller life what God has given us.

Great is the grace which God oftentimes bestows, through the power of the Keys, upon true penitence, which loveth or but longeth to love. He Who giveth to everyone severally as He willeth, dealeth with each as He, in His Infinite Mercy and Wisdom, sees best for the needs of each, or as each is at the time fitted to receive of His Goodness. Nor must any be disappointed if, for the time, he be even rather bewildered with the memory and multitude of his sins, or with the shame

[1] Tutores.

of their confession, than perceive any instant relief. Yet none in earnestness ever "asked bread" of our "Heavenly Father," and "He gave them a stone"; none ever with penitent heart approached His Ordinances in His Church, and was "sent empty away." He giveth according to our longing. He Himself hath said, "Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it": the greater our longing for His grace, the larger His grace. His Infinite Love has no bounds but the narrowness of our souls, which, if we crave it, He will enlarge. To some He sheddeth rays of light on their darkness; to others He giveth large, sensible influxes of grace, so that they seem borne along it as upon a tide; to others He poureth in the gift of love; to some He giveth another heart and maketh them other men, so that former sins, former besetting temptations, are, as it were, passed away; to others He giveth the grace of strength; to others a loving penitence; to others deep humility and loathing of sin; to others the brightness of His Presence, and the soul as of a little child. Yet all such gifts are of God's overflowing mercy; one only gift doth the penitent seek after, the Face of God; that He Who turned away His Face amid his sins will "show the Light of His Countenance upon him, that he may be whole."

The restoration, on the part of God, if we be sincere, is complete. "I set before you," says S. Chrysostom, "not one, two, three, but many thousands, ulcered, wounded, laden with countless sins, which can be so made whole through penitence as not to have trace or scar of their former wounds." "Scars remain in the body; God, when He effaces sin, allows neither scar nor trace to remain, but with health gives freshness of beauty too; with freedom from punishment, righteousness also; and makes the sinner equal to those who had not sinned." Nay, not "equal" may he be, but, says S. Gregory, "a life on fire with love after sin becometh more pleasing to God than innocence which through security is listless." Only be it an ardent, kindled, fiery life, which willeth not that any of its dross, any thing dead, remain unconsumed.

What the Church offers is not to replace penitence (as many modern systems do), but to secure its fruits; not to diminish sorrow for past sin, but to make it joyous; not to offer easy terms, but to invite to the yoke of Christ, easy, but

as freeing thee from the yoke of sin ; easy, because He who placeth it upon thee shall by it uphold thee. The Church everywhere has in later times mitigated her strictness, and, because she could not bring us to the severe self-discipline of the Ancient Church, would invite us, as children with weak wills, to do what we can.

She abridges the long-protracted period of penitential acts ; admits at once to, or rarely excludes from, Communion ; disuses almost everywhere the recommendation of the stern instruments of ancient penitence. In compassion to the weakness of her children, she puts them not to open shame, nor lays upon them the burthen of a heavy discipline. But God changeth not ; His holy Word remains, which counts self-" revenge " among the fruits of " sorrow after a godly sort." The Church still rehearses to us from it the austere humiliation of Ahab and Nineveh ; she still teaches us to say, with the royal penitent, " Every night wash I my bed, and water my couch with my tears " ; " my beauty is gone for very trouble " ; " I forget to eat my bread " ; " for the voice of my groaning, my bones will scarce cleave to my flesh." She, yea, God by her, still calls to us through the Prophets, to " turn to the Lord with weeping, and with fasting, and with mourning." Not the nature of the Unchangeable God, nor of His and our unchanged Adversary, fixed in everlasting hate of both, and hating us the more, as bearing the image of God ; not the deadly nature of sin, nor the true character of healthy penitence, are changed ; not what would be good for us, if we could bear it, but what our sickly wills (and in some cases, weaker frames) will bear. Better to repent anyhow, than not to repent at all. Yet surely they may most hope that their penitence is sincere whom it costs most. " The pains of the penitent," says S. Augustine, " are birth-pangs of a woman with child," yielding, for short present pain, abiding joy. They surely who mourn most deeply shall be most deeply comforted ; " they who sow in tears shall reap in joy " ; they who, " weeping, bear forth good seed, shall come again " to their Father's everlasting home " with joy," and shall find their sheaves laid up in His garner. They who have deeply fallen, or have turned aside, must gird themselves the more resolutely, and strip themselves of every weight, and press the more earnestly in His Blessed Steps Who hath anew called them, would they gain

the Prize they once forfeited, the full Brightness of His Presence in bliss, and recover the jewels of that crown which they once tarnished or " cast on the ground, profaning it down to the dust," and the mire of concupiscence !

God is anew calling aloud to penitence. Evil days, perhaps the last strife before His coming, are gathering thick upon us. He, by the manifold evils around us, is telling us where any who, when called by Him to work, once said, " I will not," and have " not kept their own vineyard," may now, if they repent, go and work in the vineyard of the Lord. Everywhere around, our crowded cities, our mines, our ports, our manufactories, are one wide desolation, often, except in the suspension of punishment, the types of Hell, for lack of devoted, self-denying service. Let those follow easy paths who have ever tried the paths of God ! Let those who have ever led blameless lives, and have little stained their Baptismal robes, if God calls them not, possess in thankfulness life's pure, peaceful joys ! But if thou trustest that God hath forgiven thee, or will forgive thee, much, then seek how thou mayest show forth to Him much contrition and much love ; if thou trustest that thou art " a brand plucked out of the fire," then see how, by what self-denial, parting with this world's goods or comforts, thou mayest, under God, aid to pluck others out of that fire which thou feelest that thou didst deserve ; if thou hope that, when thou hast made thyself " a vessel of wrath fitted for destruction," " dishonouring thine own self," " Jesus Christ," willing to " show forth in " thee " all long-suffering," would make of thee " a vessel prepared unto glory," " sanctified and meet for the Master's use," then, like him, the chief of penitents, the " chosen vessel to bear " his Redeemer's " Name before the Gentiles," be thou ready to " suffer for " His " Name's sake." Be thou " in labours more abundant ; in weariness and painfulness ; in watching often ; in hunger and thirst ; in fastings often ; in cold and nakedness " ; yea, blessed shalt thou be if, with him, thou be " in deaths oft " ; that so in that body, which thou once didst " yield as the instrument of unrighteousness unto sin," and through " sin, unto death," thou mayest now " bear about the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be made manifest in the body," and, while " death worketh in " thee, " life may work " in them who through thee shall know Him. Turn

thy self-affliction to the good of thy brethren; show unto Christ, in His and thy brethren, the love wherewith thou hopest He hath loved thee; and thy displeasure at thy sins shall be the good pleasure of thy God; thy labour to efface thy past foulness, shall, through the Blood of Christ, win for thee everlasting beauty and glory. He Whose strength is made perfect in weakness shall make thy past weakness the means of thy future strength; the memory of past sin, when thou art loosed from it, shall be, not a clog to hold thee back, but a spur to goad thee. He who now saith, "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren," shall own the good deeds which he gave thee strength to do. He who shall now say to thee by His Minister, "Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee," shall, in the awful Day, when He shall be revealed in flaming fire, to take vengeance on those who obey not His Gospel, but to be glorified in His Saints, He shall by Himself say unto thee, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

Unto which He, of His infinite Mercy, bring us sinners, to Whom with the Father, etc.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS SELWYN (1809-1878)

In Advent, 1854, while the Crimean War was at its crisis, Bishop Selwyn preached a course of four sermons before the University of Cambridge, in which he used these words :— "Offer yourselves to the Archbishop of Canterbury as twelve hundred young men have recently offered themselves to the Commander-in-Chief." They should be ready to go anywhere and do anything. He had uttered the same appeal in the chapel of Eton College—"a school of buoyant freedom and energetic idleness." One result of the Advent sermons was an "indelible impression" made on the heart of Frederick Mackenzie, afterwards Bishop of the Zambesi ; another the offer by a listener to place his entire fortune at the Bishop's disposal. In August of that year a newly-ordained priest, John Coleridge Patteson, aged twenty-seven, had dedicated his life to the work of Christ in the mission field. His desire had been for years to follow Selwyn. The Church revival was bearing one of its natural and essential fruits in zeal for the Catholic extension of the Redeemer's fold.

Rather more than six years later, on St. Matthias' Day, 1861, Patteson himself was consecrated as first Bishop of Melanesia in St. Paul's Church, Auckland, by Bishop Selwyn and the Bishops of Wellington and Nelson (Abraham and Hobhouse). All four were Etonians. Bishop Selwyn's sermon, which is given below, is described by Prebendary Tucker, who prints it in full, as "one of the most striking sermons ever preached by him." [1] There is an affecting account of this consecration, from Bishop Patteson's own pen, in Miss Charlotte Yonge's Life of the martyr-prelate. [2] We are told also that one bystander, who had never seen cassock and rochet before,

[1] *Life and Episcopate of Bishop Selwyn.* By Preb. H. W. Tucker, 1879.
[2] Vol. i, pp. 487-492.

was reminded of some young knight watching his armour—a face steadfast, meek, holy and calm, as though all conflict was over, and he was resting, resting in the Divine strength. Tagalana, the island boy, held the Book, and "it was altogether a wonderful scene." Patteson was overcome for a moment by the reference in the sermon to his father. The closing words seemed afterwards prophetic:—"May you sorrow with Christ in His agony and be crucified with Him in His death." He was clubbed to death while sleeping in his tent on the shore of Neukapu ten years afterwards, on St. Matthew's Eve, 1871. The suppression of the South Sea slave-trade resulted from this martyrdom.

A Consecration Sermon

And they prayed and said: Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, show whether of these two Thou hast chosen.—Acts i, 24.

If a reason be asked for the particular character of this congregation, it is given in the first words of the text—*They prayed.* On other occasions the House of God is as free as the air of Heaven. The sojourner, the wayfaring man, the friendless, the rich, the poor, the old, the young, the full communicant and the proselyte of the gate, all may enter freely through its open doors, for the Church is the House of Prayer for all people, where everyone may come to pour out his soul before the Lord.

But this is a season of special prayer, and of that most solemn act of prayer which is offered up in the Holy Communion. And therefore the invitation has gone forth far and wide to all who have partaken of the Blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, to meet the Bishops and Pastors of our Church at the Lord's Table, and to pray *with* us and *for* us.

We ask for these special prayers in a time of special need, for the solemnity in which we are engaged is one of fearful responsibility. We have not come here in a spirit of boasting, but of fear and trembling. We have not come here to exalt ourselves above our brethren in Christ, because we are Bishops or Presbyters or Communicants of the Church: for the day reminds all Pastors of the Church of him whom Christ said: "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?"

and the place reminds us, that it was from that Holy Table that the first Communicants rose up, one to betray his Lord, one to deny Him, *all* to forsake Him.

Was not that a season of fear and trembling, when the eleven Apostles met in that upper room in which they all abode after the Ascension, and continued with one accord in prayer and supplication? Prayer was their comfort even then, though the Holy Ghost was not yet given. We can well understand why they prayed. The Bridegroom had departed from them. They were a band of mourners. There was Mary the Mother of Jesus weeping for her Son. And there was Mary Magdalene weeping for her Saviour; and Peter mourning for his denial of his Lord; and Thomas mourning for his faithlessness; all mourning for the brother who had fallen from his bishoprick and gone to his own place.

A book was unrolled before them, in which were written lamentations and mourning and woe. The dark word of prophecy had been then fulfilled. The Shepherd had been smitten, and the sheep of the flock had been scattered abroad. One habitation was desolate, and no man to dwell therein. Each in his own degree had been offended because of Christ; even that Apostle who said, "Though all men shall be offended because of Thee, yet will I never be offended." Judas, Peter, all the Apostles, had stumbled at that stumbling stone: and all this had been foretold by prophecy as foreordained by God: and yet they could not excuse themselves by alleging God's foreknowledge. Their Lord had said, "It must needs be that offences come, but woe be to that man by whom the offence cometh."

And now to this sorrow for the past was to be added fear for the future: for this word also of prophecy was to be fulfilled: "His bishoprick let another take." Another soldier of the Cross was to step at once into the place in which he had seen his comrade fall. There was no special guidance of the Holy Ghost, as when Paul and Barnabas were separated for the work whereunto God had called them. All the past was full of bitter proofs of their own unfitness for their Master's service. They had not known their own hearts. They had fancied themselves ready to go up to Jerusalem, to die with Him; they promised to go with Him to prison and to death; yet they had denied and forsaken Him. They had not known

their own deceitful hearts : how should they know the hearts of other men ? One source of comfort and light had been opened to them by their Divine Master, and to that they resorted. They prayed and said :—

" Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, show whether of these two Thou has chosen."

They did not pray alone. The same Blessed Saviour who had borne their griefs and carried their sorrows, who had prayed for them in His agony, while they were sleeping, would not forsake them in their act of prayer. He knew that Satan had desired to have them, that he might sift them as wheat, and He prayed for them, that their strength might not fail.

In the power of that intercession, Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples ; Peter foremost in the blessing, " Blessed art thou Simon Barjona," and foremost also in the offence, " Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me." Had he forgotten his own bitter tears for his threefold denial, or his grief at his Lord's threefold exhortation to him to feed His Sheep ? Was his bearing that of the Primate of the Apostolic brotherhood, proud of his own office, and confident in his own strength ? If he had been righteous in his own eyes, he would have brought a railing accusation against his brother. But his words are not of condemnation, but of sorrow. He speaks of Judas not as a traitor, but as the guide of them that took Jesus. He does not deny that Judas was an Apostle, but puts it forward as a sorrowful fact, that he was numbered with them, and had obtained part of their ministry. In fear and sorrow he recognized the fulfilment of prophecy in his brother's fall ; in fear and hope he called upon his brethren to fulfil the same Word of God by appointing another to take part of that ministry and Apostleship from which Judas by transgression fell.

I have endeavoured to explain the feelings with which the Apostles must have offered up those fervent prayers at the election of Matthias, as some guide to our own thoughts and feelings on the present occasion.

We, too, must come to this work in a spirit of prayer, because it is to us a work even of greater fear.

I speak of the Consecrating Bishops.

We are called upon to execute this office of the Apostles, in an age when the Bridegroom has been taken away, and

when all outward gifts and guidances of the Spirit of God have been withdrawn. We are not like those holy men, who were with the Lord Jesus " all the time that He went in and out among them, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the same day that He was taken up. We cannot choose from men who have enjoyed the like privileges as eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word. We are inferior to them both in respect of the power to choose, and of the field of choice. Compared with them, we are but " blind leaders of the blind."

And yet the office of the Apostles is laid upon us. They have long gone to their rest : but the commandment still remains in force, " Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." God neither gave immortality to the Apostles nor a sudden spirit of conversion to the world. It is seen, then, to be the will of God, that the fulfilment of prophecy, and of our Blessed Lord's commandment, should be a gradual work, to be carried on by successive generations of the Christian ministry.

Through a hundred steps of spiritual lineage that Apostolic ministry has been brought down to us. At this distance from the source of blessing, we fear lest we be found wanting. We are called upon to exercise the office of Apostles, but without the special gifts and graces of the Apostolic age. What are we that we should have power to carry on the Lord's Work in obedience to His commandment ?

When we look to the side of prophecy, the thought is no less fearful. The whole volume of Holy Scripture seems to be unrolled before us with its warning of woe. " Woe be to me, if I preach not the Gospel." Is the promise yet fulfilled, that in Abraham and his seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed ? Has Christ already received all the heathen for His inheritance and all the uttermost parts of the earth for His possession ? Is there no wilderness which has still to blossom as the rose ? No islands that still wait for the Lord ? No kingdoms that must become His ? Are all idols utterly abolished ? Are there no Gentiles yet to come to His light ; no doves to come back to the windows of His ark ; no sons to come from afar ; no daughters to be brought to be nursed at His side ? Has His Church been established in the top of the mountains as a city set upon a hill ?

The vastness of the scope of the prophetic visions at once

humbles and enlarges the mind. " Thy heart shall fear and be enlarged " is God's promise through Isaiah. However little our work may be, it is part of that purpose of God which can never fail. We pray for our little one in fear and humility, and while we pray it becomes a thousand. It is but a drop in the ocean, but that ocean is the fullness of God.

But when we thus recognize the work as of God alone, ordained by His determinate counsel and foreknowledge, a new cause of fear arises, and brings with it a new motive to prayer. In this work of God, belonging to all eternity, and to the Holy Catholic Church, are we influenced by any private feelings, or any personal regard ? The charge which St. Paul gives to Timothy, in words of awful solemnity, " to lay hands suddenly on no man," may well cause much searching of heart. " I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things, without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality." Does our own partial love deceive us in this choice ? We were all trained in the same place of education ; united in the same circle of friends ; in boyhood, in youth, in manhood, we have shared the same sorrows and joys and hopes and fears. I received this my son in the Ministry of Christ Jesus from the hands of a father of whose old age he was the comfort : he sent him forth without a murmur, nay, rather with joy and thankfulness, to these distant parts of the earth. He never asked even to see him again ; but gave him up without reserve to the Lord's work. Pray, dear brethren, for your Bishops, that our partial love may not deceive us in this choice, for we cannot so strive against natural affection as to be quite impartial.

And yet, as standing in " the presence of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the elect angels," we solemnly declare that we are not laying hands suddenly on this dear friend and brother. So far as we can search our own hearts, and judge of our own motives, we are doing nothing by partiality. In frequent conference, and in solemn communion, we have spread the matter before the Lord ; and we have received at least this satisfaction, that no single whisper of the voice of conscience within has warned us to forbear. We have risen from our prayers more and more resolved to go forward in the name of God, and in the full belief that this is indeed His work, and that this is His chosen servant.

Here again was the need of prayer, that we were left to our own unassisted judgment. It is true that I had received the commission, now nearly twenty years ago, from the Primate of the English Church, to regard New Zealand as a fountain to diffuse the streams of salvation over the coasts and islands of the Pacific Ocean, and that supplies have been furnished by the Church at home with no sparing hand to enable me to begin the work. But, in this special act of the consecration of a Missionary Bishop, the authorities in Church and State at home have advisedly left us to exercise our own inherent powers; with the kindest expression of sympathy with our undertaking, but with no division of responsibility. And yet we do not stand alone in the work, for at this very time the sister Church in the Cape Colony, with the active support of a former Governor of New Zealand, is sending out a Missionary Bishop to Central Africa. We too have received the same encouragement from the officers of the Crown in New Zealand, their attestation of the fitness of the person whom we have chosen, their assurance of the lawfulness of our act. We have called upon the laity in all our churches to come forward, if they know any just cause or impediment. The general consent of Church and State, of the Clergy and Laity, both here and at home, seems to justify our act. We humbly trust that we may go on with this our work with a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man.

Having asked your prayers for us the Consecrating Bishops, I now ask them for him who is to be consecrated. And these are the reasons :—

Because, like all others of his brethren, he will have care of many Churches : the stewardship of the Mysteries of Christ : the guardianship of the purity of His Word : the administration of godly discipline : the oversight of the flock, which the Son of God has purchased with His own blood.

But, especially, because he will go forth to sow beside many waters, to cultivate an unknown field, to range from island to island, himself unknown, and coming in the name of an unknown God. He will have to land alone and unarmed among heathen tribes, where every man's hand is against his neighbour, and bid them lay down their spears and arrows, and meet him as the messenger of peace. He will have to persuade them by the language of signs to give up their children to his care;

and, while he teaches them the simplest elements which are taught in our infant schools, to learn from them a new language for every island. Surely then, dear brethren, we must pray earnestly that this our brother may have large measure of the Apostolic gifts; a power to acquire divers languages; and also boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the Gospel to all the nations now to be committed to his charge. Already sixty islands will come under his care, and at least one hundred others, stretching westward as far as New Guinea, are among the number of the islands which are waiting for the Lord. I can but indicate the outlines of this great work; your own minds fill up the details, by that lively faith which springs from a hearty acceptance of all the prophecies and of all the promises of the Bible. It may be that your prayers will be more earnest for objects which you see as through a glass darkly; like those solemn prayers which faithful men offer up in the darkness of the night to the God who seeth in secret.

One duty yet remains: to commend our dear brother to the work to which we believe God has called him.

It was the privilege of the Apostles to elect Matthias out of the number of those "who had companied with them all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among them, beginning from the baptism of John unto the same day that He was taken up." Our privilege, though different in degree, may be the same in kind; for faith supplies what is denied to sight.

So may every step of thy life, dear brother, be in company with the Lord Jesus.

May the baptism of John be in thee, to fill thee with that godly sorrow which evoketh repentance not to be repented of: a foretaste of that comfort which will be given to them that mourn, by the baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire.

May Christ be with thee, as a light to lighten the Gentiles; may He work out in thee His spiritual miracles; may He through thee give sight to the blind, to see the glories of the God invisible; and open the ears of the deaf to hear and receive the preaching of His word; and loose the tongues of the dumb, to sing His praise; and raise to new life the dead in trespasses and sins.

May Christ be with you when you go forth in His Name and for His sake, "to these poor and needy people; to those strangers destitute of help"; to those mingled races who

still show forth the curse of Babel, and wait for the coming of another Pentecost—poor alike in all worldly and spiritual goods, naked to be clothed, prisoners to be loosed, lepers to be cleansed. To you is committed Christ's own ministry, to seek for His sheep that are dispersed abroad ; to hold up the weak, to heal the sick, to bind up the broken, to bring again the outcasts, to seek the lost. Your office is, in the widest sense, to preach the Gospel to the poor.

May Christ be ever with you ; may you feel His presence in the lonely wilderness, on the mountain top, on the troubled sea. May He go before you, with His fan in His hand to purge His floor. He will not stay His hand, till the idols are utterly abolished.

May Christ be ever with thee, to give thee utterance to open thy mouth boldly to make known the mystery of the Gospel. Dwelling in the midst of a people of unclean lips, thou wilt feel Him present with thee to touch thy lips with a live coal from His own altar, that many strangers of every race may hear in their own tongues the wonderful works of God.

May Christ be ever with you. May you sorrow with Him in His agony and be crucified with Him in His death, be buried with Him in His grave, rise with Him to newness of life, and ascend with him in heart to the same place whither He has gone before, and feel that He ever liveth to make intercession for thee, " that thy strength fail not." Amen.

JAMES BOWLING MOZLEY (1813-1878)

In the *Development of Christian Doctrine* Newman speaks of the paradox of the sanctification of war by Christianity. "Our Lord Himself is represented in the Prophets as a combatant inflicting wounds while He received them, as coming from Bozrah with dyed garments, sprinkled and red in His apparel with the blood of His enemies. And whereas no war is lawful but what is just, it surely beseems that they who are engaged in so dreadful a commission as that of taking away life at the price of their own should at last have the support of His Presence, and fight under the mystical influence of His Name."[1]

The 37th Article of the Church of England says that it is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons and serve in wars. Nevertheless the Council of Winchester, in 1071, while justifying war, ordered that a soldier who had slain a man in battle should do forty days' penance for every foeman struck.

Christianity is jealous for the sacredness of God's image, and it obviously thinks much more seriously of the selfish recklessness and the evil passions which engender, or are engendered by, war than of the material loss or suffering caused by it. In other words, its view of war, as of other evils, is always an ethical one. It is observable that wars are in the present day undertaken almost always for markets, and that commerce, hailed in 1851 as the white-winged harbinger of peace, has become the most prolific source of bloodshed. On the other hand, the money-market may also be responsible for unjust and unrighteous peace, and Lyall points out that in Milton's etherial council of war Mammon's speech

[1] p. 431.

is ignobly pacific. It depends on the circumstances whether Walpole's boast to Queen Caroline was an admirable one—"Madam, fifty thousand men have been killed in Europe this year, and not one Englishman or Scotsman." Benjamin Franklin declared, "There never was a good war nor a bad peace," and many have been saying this among ourselves who are the first to cry out for armed intervention on behalf of oppressed or insurgent peoples. War is often, in Shakespeare's phrase, God's bedell and His vengeance, and, even when most "the son of Hell," of it "the angry Heavens do make their minister." The strange thing is that war, seen at close quarters, is "a soul-blinding, heart-blurring business," but seen through the tract of time it has been, as Ruskin declared, the parent of all arts and civilisation. From it are drawn the ideals of knighthood and chivalry. And the highest images of Holy Scripture are those of the panoply of God, of the fair fight of faith, of the Son of God riding forth to war, and of the good soldiers of Jesus Christ.

Mozley makes good his point that war is rendered inevitable by the absence of any central authority over the nations analogous to the tribunals which preside over private litigation. But he takes too low a view of forensic authority when he says that it is submitted to merely because ultimately it could appeal, as war actually does appeal, to force. The ordinary man obeys a court of justice, at least in part, for conscience' sake, and because the judge, albeit fallible, sits in the seat of Divine judicature.

James Mozley, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, was a brilliant exponent, yet with some considerable differences, of the intellectual standpoint of Tractarianism. When, under the shock of Newman's secession, to quote Church, "We sat glumly at our breakfasts every morning, and then someone came in with news of something disagreeable—someone gone, someone sure to go—and not those who went but we who stayed were voted impostors, the only two facts of the time

were that Pusey and Keble did not move, and that James Mozley showed that there was one strong mind and soul still left in Oxford." Gladstone considered that Mozley combined "the clear form of Cardinal Newman with the profundity of Bishop Butler."[1] His great mental power impressed such opponents as Mill, Tyndall and Huxley. The originality and suggestiveness of his thought, as well as the beauty of his style, place him in the front rank of essayists and preachers. The famous sermon on "War" was preached at the close of the deadly struggle between France and Germany, on March 12, 1871.

War

Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom.—St. Matthew xxiv, 7.

The relations of Christianity to war are certainly at first sight an extraordinary enigma. For what do we see? Those who are spiritually one with another, and brethren in Christ, killing each other deliberately, on an immense scale, by weapons and engines which have been long and systematically improved with a view to the highest success in destruction; the contrivance of which indeed has strained to the very utmost the invention and ingenuity of Christians. Nor is this mutual slaughter, by the law of the Church, the slightest break in Christian union and fellowship; the Communion of the Church absolutely unites one side spiritually with the other. When then, having first looked upon Christians fighting one another with the eye of custom, taking it as a matter of course, wanting no explanation, we have suddenly become alive to the strangeness and startlingness of the fact, we then turn right round and forthwith suppose that there must be some very *extraordinary* explanation. But there is no other than an ordinary explanation to give.

The Christian recognition of the right of war was contained in Christianity's original recognition of *nations*, as constituting at the same time the division and the structure of the human world. Gathering up the whole world into one communion spiritually, the new universal society yet announced its

[1] Quoted in Rev. S. L. Ollard's *Oxford Movement*, p. 80.

coalescence with mankind's divisions politically; it was one body of one kind, in many bodies of another kind. It did not interfere with the established fabrick of human society, its ancient inclosures, those formations of nature or events which collected mankind into separate masses, those great civil corporations into which mankind was distributed: in a word with *nations*. It gathered up into itself not only the unions but the chasms of the human race; all that separated as well as all that united; all that divided, and by dividing created variety and individuality in our human world. The nation was one of those wholes to which the individual man belonged, and of which he was a part and member; it existed prior to Christianity, and was admitted into it with other natural elements in us. Christians were from the outset members of States; and the Church could no more ignore the State than it could the family. And as one of those wholes to which the individual belonged, a sentiment and affection attached to it. Christianity admitted this sentiment; it gave room for national feeling, for patriotism, for that common bond which a common history creates, for loyalty, for pride in the grandeur of the nation's traditions, for joy in its success.

There is indeed a jealousy in some schools of thought of this national sentiment, as belonging to members of the Church Catholic, as if it were a sentiment of nature which grace had obliterated; as if a universal spiritual society had left far behind such lower rudiments of humanity, and it were a mark of a relapse into heathenism to express any particular interest in your own country. The universal society claims the whole individual affection of the man; the Catholic has ceased to be patriotic, and become a citizen of the Church only. This is the idea; but, just as there are no two more different landscapes than the same under altered skies, no two ideas are wider apart than the same under different circumstances for realising them. In Heaven, all is one spiritual society only; but here, if besides the Church there is the nation, the effacement of the national sentiment is an artificial and violent erasion of a fact of nature. We see all the difference in such a case between the vision of an angel and a fanatical or pedantic theory. It appears to belong to such theories to impoverish the minds which they absorb. Nature punishes with dryness the spirits that reject her; even their spiritual citizenship issues forth

stamped with utter insipidity, a piece of the most technical, barren and jejune mechanism.

The question, indeed, whether Christianity admits of the national sentiment is part of the general question whether Christianity adopts nature. To one class of zealous religious minds everything connected with nature has looked suspicious ; poetry, art, philosophy, have not only had the taint of original evil which they bear, but they have only and simply appeared sinful. And to this view of them it has been replied that Christianity does not abolish, but purify and consecrate nature. Nature enriches, nay, makes, the material which religion is to penetrate. Christianity is not a flame which burns in a pure vacuum and a void. The soul has natural feelings and affections for it to feed upon ; as the rich unguents of the wood feed the flame. So with respect to the national sentiment. It is part of the great inheritance of nature. The nation is one of those natural wholes to which man belongs, as the family is another. He is annexed to it ; and a sentiment arises out of that annexation. He belongs to it by the same great law of association, though in a further stage of it, upon which the tie of the family depends.

It may be said that the tie of country is not inculcated in the New Testament, which, on the other hand, everywhere speaks of us as members of the Church which it contemplates extending over the whole world. But, if it does not expressly form an article of teaching in the New Testament, we still cannot argue from the omission as if it were rejection, and gather from the absence of direct injunction to it that it is obsolete under the Gospel. It must be observed that the argument of Hooker, by which he met the Puritan formula that in the matter of Church order and ceremonial whatever was not enjoined in Scripture was wrong, applies to the *ethics* of Scripture as well. Hooker said that Scripture, by leaving out, did not *condemn*, but only sent us back to the ground of reason and natural law. And to those who would argue that Scripture prohibited some affection, or sentiment, or bond, because it omitted the injunction of it, the answer is the same. The New Testament, *e.g.*, says very little about duties to equals, and enlarges upon duties to inferiors, upon charity, condescension, and compassion to the poor, the sick, and the afflicted. But we may not suppose from this that duties to equals are not

very important duties, nor even that they are not the more trying class of duties, and the most pregnant with discipline, and that the society of equals is not a more searching ordeal to the character than intercourse with the poor, who do not try our pride or challenge our jealousy. Nor may we suppose that, if Scripture omits special injunctions to patriotism, it therefore cancels or prohibits it.

The Christian Church then recognized and adopted nations, with their inherent rights; took them into her inclosure. But war is one of these rights, because under the division of mankind into distinct nations it becomes a necessity. Each of these is a centre to itself, without any amenableness to a common centre. Questions of right and justice must arise between these independent centres; these cannot be decided except by mutual agreement or force, and when one fails the other only remains—not that it necessarily settles questions rightly indeed, because it is force and not right which decides; but the right side makes the trial. In the act, then, of recognizing and including within herself nations, collecting within one spiritual area so many different independent political sources, the Christian Church necessarily admitted also war within her pale. Together with the nations there comes also within the Church the process of *national* settlement of questions—that which in nations corresponds to judicial proceedings between individuals—*i.e.*, war. For, if Christians only use, in resorting to it, a natural right, the use of this right does not exclude them from the Church; which is to say, that Christians fight each other in full spiritual communion.[1] Such an issue the primitive Christian perhaps hardly foresaw; and could the veil of time have been lifted, and a European field of battle been shown him, he could hardly have believed the picture; but it is still the result of a natural right which Christianity had begun with admitting.

Christianity does not admit, indeed, but utterly denounces and condemns the motives which lead to war,—selfish ambition, rapacity, tyranny, and vanity; but the condemnation of one side is the justification of the other; these very motives give the right of resistance to one side. And, inasmuch as the Church has no authority to decide which is the right side—not

[1] For example, in the recent war in the Far East, some Japanese spies, being Christians, received the Eucharist from a Russian priest before being shot.

having been made by her Divine Founder a "judge or a divider" in this sphere—the Church cannot, in her ignorance, exclude the other side either. The Church therefore stands neutral, and takes in both sides; that is to say, both sides fight within the bond of Christian unity. She only contemplates war forensically, as a mode of settling national questions, which is justified by the want of any other mode.

This independence of nations is not of course the ultimate account of war, which is human passion and misapprehension, but only an account of it as differing from the peaceable settlement of disputes between individuals.

It must be observed that individuals are enabled to settle their disputes peaceably by the fact of being under a government. It is not that individuals are less pugnacious than nations, but they are differently circumstanced. Being under a government, they are obliged, if they do not voluntarily come to terms, to accept the arbitration of a court. Nobody supposes that the suitors for justice in our courts agree with the judge when he decides against them. They think him in error, but they submit because they are obliged. Every judgment of a court is backed by the whole force of the nation, as against the force of the individual who dissents. Individuals then are able to settle their disputes peaceably, because they are governed by a nation; but nations themselves are not governed by a power above them. This then is the original disadvantage under which nations are placed as regards the settlement of disputes, and in consequence of which force takes the place of justice in the settlement. We are struck at the very first with the enormous, the almost incredible, contrast between the mode in which individual disputes are decided and that in which national disputes are; they appear hardly to belong to the same age, or to the same world; it is to appearance all the difference between civilisation and barbarism. And yet the whole difference springs from one distinction in the situation of the two,—there is a government of individuals provided in the world, but not a government of nations. The aim of the nation in going to war is exactly the same as that of the individual in entering a court; it wants its rights, or what it alleges to be its rights; but it is not in the situation in which the individual is of being compelled by force to accept the decision of a judge upon them. For indeed a court of justice

possesses, only in reserve, exactly the same identical force as that which exerts and demonstrates itself in war. It is one and the same force in principle ; only in the court it is confessedly superior to all opposition, and therefore has not to make any demonstration of itself, *i.e.*, it acts peaceably. In war it has to make a demonstration, to come out, *i.e.*, its action is warlike. It acts as a contending force ; because it is only as a superior force that it is effective ; and its superiority can only be proved by contention. It exists in its compressed form in the court, like the genius shut up in the chest in the eastern legend ; in war it rises to a colossal height, like the same genius when let out. In civil government the force of final resort is a stationary force at the nation's centre ; in war it is a moving and nomad force, going about the world, and showing itself by the proof of the event in battle, in whatever place the occasion may arise ; but it is the same force in different circumstances.

It may be observed that such an account of war, as arising from the want of a government over the contending parties, applies in reality to civil wars as well as to national ; only in the former case the headship over the contending parties has given way for a time ; in the latter it never existed.

So far we have been dealing with wars of self-defence ; but self-defence by no means exhausts the whole rationale of war. Self-defence stands in moral treatises as the formal hypothesis to which all justification of war is reduced ; but this is applying a considerable strain to it. When we go further we find that there is a spring in the very setting and framework of the world, whence movements are ever pushing up the the surface—movements for recasting more or less the national distribution of the world ; for establishing fresh centres and forming States into new groups and combinations. Much of this is doubtless owing to the mere spirit of selfish conquest ; for conquest as such is change and reconstruction ; but conquest does not account for the whole of it. There is doubtless an instinctive reaching in nations and masses of people after alteration and readjustment, which has justice in it, and which rises from real needs. The arrangement does not suit as it stands ; there is want of adaptation ; there is confinement and pressure ;—people kept away from each other that are made to be together, and parts separated that were made to

join. Thus there is uneasiness in States, and an impulse rises up toward some new coalition ; it is long an undergrowth of feeling, but at last it comes to the top and takes steps for putting itself in force. Strong States then, it is true, are ready enough to assume the office of reconstructors, and yet we must admit there is sometimes a natural justice in these movements, and that they are instances of a real self-correcting process which is part of the constitution of the world, and which is coeval in root with the political structure which it remedies. They are an opening out of political nature, seeking relief and proper scope in new divisions ; sometimes reactions in favour of older union, disturbed by later artificial division. In either case it is the framework of society forced by an inward impulse upon its own improvement and rectification. But such just needs when they arise must produce war ; because a *status quo* is blind to new necessities, and does not think such an alteration to be for the better, but much for the worse. Then there are wars of progress ; they do not belong to the strict head of wars of self-defence ; but, so far as they are really necessary for the due advantage of mankind and growth of society, they have a justification in that reason. And as Christianity at its commencement took up the national divisions of mankind, with war as a consequence contained in them, so it assumes this root of change and reconstruction with the same consequence—this fundamental tendency to re-settlement, this inherent corrective process in political nature.

It is this judicial character of war, and its lawful place in the world as a mode of obtaining justice, it is the sacred and serious object which *so far* attaches to war, which gives war its morality, and enables it to produce its solemnising type of character. For we should keep clear and distinguished in our minds the moral effects of war, and the physical. These are apt to be confounded under such expressions as the horrors of war. But the horrors of war are partly bodily torment and suffering, which are dreadful indeed, but dreadful as misery, not as sin. War is hateful as a physical scourge, like a pestilence or a famine ; and again, it is hateful on account of the passions of those who originate it, and on account of the excesses in those who serve in it. But if we take the bad effects on those who serve in it by themselves, it is not impossible to exaggerate them, at least by comparison. For while war

has its criminal side, peace is not innocent ; and who can say that more sin is not committed every day in every capital of Europe than on the largest field of battle ? We may observe in the New Testament an absence of all disparagement of the military life. It is treated as one of those callings which are necessary in the world, which supplies its own set of temptations and its own form of discipline.

There is one side indeed of the moral character of war in special harmony with the Christian type—I refer to the spirit of sacrifice which is inherent in the very idea of the individual encountering death for the sake of the body to which he belongs. There is a mediatorial function which pervades the whole dispensation of God's natural providence, by which men have to suffer for each other, and one member of the human body has to bear the burden and participate in the grief of another. And it is this serious and sacred function which consecrates war. Without it, indeed, what would war be but carnage ? With it, war displays, in spite of its terrible features, a solemn morality. The devotion of the individual to the community stands before us in a form which, while it overwhelms and appals, strikes us with admiration. That the nation may rise the individual sinks into the abyss ; he vanishes as a drop that waters the earth, yet he does not murmur. It is his function, it is his appointment, it is an end to which he is ordained ; the member is bound to the body, the unit exists for the good of the whole. In a battle itself, a mass moves, advances, wins and occupies without one look to its gaps ; a remorseless identity carries it through it all ; the whole is the same, while the parts disappear at every step ; and the great unit moves on without a pause to its goal. So it is with the nation itself ; before it is the glorified whole, and behind it are the strewn and scattered fragments everywhere upon the ground. The nation pursues its road to greatness, and to the individuals it only belongs to say, *Ave Cæsar, morituri te salutant.* Thus is history formed, thus do great States rise, and thus is national sentiment cemented. The whole wins at the cost of the members ; and the life which is gone, and whose place knoweth it no more, that which is effaced and expunged from the tablet, the vanishing, the perishing and lost, is the solid rock on which a nation is founded. Certainly one asks—what and who is this mighty enchantress, that can so chain the spirits

of mankind, so fascinate, so transport them ; that can claim such service, and impose such martyrdom ? Is it anything tangible, visible ? Can you see the nation, can you feel it ? You cannot. It is all around you, but impalpable as the air ; you cannot take hold of it ; the individuals are there, but the whole eludes your grasp. The nation is nowhere—an abstraction. It exists only in idea ; but ideas are the strongest things in man ; they bind him with irresistible force, and penetrate his affections with supreme subtlety.

War is thus elevated by sacrifice ; by the mixed effect of glory and grief. There is in it that action just before death which so interests the human mind. All that a man does upon this extreme boundary of vision appeals to us ; what he said, or did, how he looked, his expressions and signs upon the verge of that moment, awaken our curiosity ; it seems as if he were *in* another world, when he was so *near* one. So in war there is just that conflux of splendid action upon the very edge of life which rouses curiosity and emotion ; the figures move upon the extreme line of a shifting horizon, in another instant they are below it ; yet the flame of energy mounts the highest upon the moment of the eclipse. There is a miraculous outbreak of power and will, which gathers all into a point ; then all is over, and the man is gone. The old Saxon poet, though he deals with war of the rudest kind, though it is the storming of a mound, or battle of boats up some creek, is carried beyond himself in contemplating the superhuman energies with which life goes out, the action in which man vanishes from earth ; and, unable to express his emotion in words, fills up his blank intervals with inarticulate sounds, to serve as the signs of what is unutterable. It is true there is inspiration in numbers, in men acting at once and together ; it is a marvellous prop to human nature. " The fear of death," says Montaigne, " is got rid of by dying in company ; they are no longer astonished at it ; they lament no longer." There is a strain in solitary action when a man is thrown upon himself, which is too much for him, fellowship in danger relieves it. And there is excitement doubtless in a crowd, an indefinite mass of human beings ; it fills the mind ; the spectacle is stirring and absorbing ; and a crowd has this singular effect too, that, so far from lessening the individual in his own eyes, which one would imagine before that it must do, on the contrary

it magnifies him; he appends it to himself; he does not belong so much to it as it to him. Still, though it is assisted nature which acts on these occasions, it is nature assisted by natural means. Thus have the scenes of war figured as a kind of supernatural borderland of action in human sentiment; they have left an impress upon the memorials of the city and the field, and as associations and memories their place would be missed in the roll of the past; while the self-sacrifice of war has also produced a class of virtues which cannot well be spared in the portrait of man.

And as the individual fights *for* a whole, so he fights against a whole too: the hostile aim passes through the individual, as a mere necessary incident, to rest for its real object upon the impalpable generalisation of the nation, which disperses itself in the air, and defies our grasp. As respects the individuals it is simply a problem of force, which is working itself out, by means indeed of those individuals on each side as exponents, but wholly irrelevant of any regard to them as persons. It works itself out, just as an argument does, nor is there more hatred in force than there is in reasoning. It is a means to an end—that end being the establishment of a right, as the end of an argument is the establishment of a truth. Thus, take two hostile armies, and the total amount of anger is in almost spectral and unearthly contrast with the hideous mass of injury. It is like a tempest without a wind. The enmity is in the two wholes—the abstractions. The individuals are at peace.

But there is a sad counterpart of the self-sacrificing encounter of death on the part of the individual for the body—the mere animal defiance of death. We know that man can, by custom and constant hardening, be at last rendered callous to the fear of death; but the result sometimes is, so far from a good one in man, a terrible and wild outburst of evil nature in him. So long as he was under the fear of death there was something to restrain him; there was something hanging over him; there was something before him which he dreaded; he was under a yoke and felt it; but, when this last check is flung off, then he triumphs wildly in his freedom, and tramples upon law. This is the effect of the exultation of conquering the dread of death in the base and carnal heart; it lets the whole man loose; and in the rule of *corruptio optimi pessima*, just as the

victory over the terror of death in self-devotion produces the highest state of mind, so the mere animal conquest of it produces the lowest.

Is war to be regarded then as an accident of society which may some day be got rid of, or as something rooted in it? Imagination earnestly stretches forward to an epoch when war will cease; and first, it has been said that the progress of society will put an end to war. But, in the first place, human nature consists of such varied contents that it is very difficult to say that any one principle, such as what we call progress, can control it. Old feeling starts up again, when it was thought obsolete, and there is much that is wild and irregular in man, however we may think we have subjugated and tamed him. There is an outburst when we least expect it. "Canst thou draw out leviathan with a hook? will he make a covenant with thee? wilt thou take him for a servant for ever?" "I have never seen," says the great philosopher I have quoted, speaking of himself as the human creature, and with the roughness which is peculiar to him, "I have never seen," he says, "a more evident monster or miracle in the world than myself: a man grows familiar with all strange things by time and custom; but, the more I visit and the better I know myself, the more does my deformity astonish me, and the less I understand of myself." Therefore the pretension of any one principle like that material of progress to control entirely this being, to make a covenant with him, and take him as a servant for ever, is on the very face of it an absurdity. But what are we to say when progress produces war, instead of stopping it? It is true that progress has stopped wars arising from that petty class of causes—court and family intrigues. So much popular power has done. But, if progress stops war on one side, it makes it on another, and war is its instrument. Certainly it would be as easy to justify the crusades on the principle of self-defence as it would be to justify two of the three great European wars of the last dozen years on that principle. They were wars of progress; wars of a natural reconstructing scope. So in the East war has been war of progress; forcing two empires that have shut themselves up, and excluded themselves from the society of mankind, out of their artificial imprisonment and insulation, and obliging them to come out into the world, and take at any rate some part and place in it.

But again, and principally, the progress of society doubtless increases by comparison the barbarous aspect of war as an instrument ; but does it provide any other instrument by which nations can gain their rights ? Any other process of obtaining justice, however rough this one may be, and however chance its verdicts ?

The natural remedy for war would then appear to be a government of nations ; but this would be nothing short of a universal empire, and can this be accomplished by any progress? It is indeed a physical improbability. The Church, indeed, in the Middle Ages put forth pretensions to this power ; the Roman Empire was in its day an approach to it ; and so are all large conquests in their degree, keeping the nations under them distinct, but only partially self-governing, and depending on a centre. Nor is the dream of a universal government or empire confined to such shapes, or to such sources. Great popular causes, powerful tides of opinion, as they spread and advance over the world, tend to level the barriers of nations, to reduce patriotic sentiment, and to throw open the whole of human society into one vast area, in which the interests of collective humanity alone reign. The first French revolution was such a movement ; it bound together the disciples of revolutionary philosophy all over the world, and tended to erect one immense brotherhood, whose common ground was stronger and more connecting than their differencing one ; the union of ideas more forcible than the separation of country. At the present time the vast common fellowship, co-extensive with the world, the great uniting bond of labour, man's universal yoke, has produced a move in a like direction ; and even in Spain, which so long idolised its own blood, the International Operative Society proclaimed, upon the late question of the election to the throne, a total freedom from prejudice, and entire indifference to the distinction of nations, and whether their king was to be Spanish or a foreigner. But whatever approach may occasionally take place toward a relaxation of the national tie, the alternative is still an inexorable one between independent nations and a universal empire ; and as a universal empire is impossible the division of nations only remains. The waves of universalism can only dash themselves in vain against that rock ; they cannot possibly shake the seat of distributed power and government ; and by a fortunate necessity nations

must ever form the barriers and breakwaters in that boundless ocean of humanity, which would otherwise drive with irresistible and wild force in the direction of particular great movements and ideas ; they are the groins which divide the beach, whose immeasurable expanse of sands would otherwise crowd up into overwhelming piles and masses.

We thus fall back again upon independent States, which must decide their own rights, otherwise they are not full and integral States. They have not that authority, that freedom from all subordinateness to an authority above them, that self-sufficiency, which the peremptory logic of our well-known statutes claims for them in the statement that, " by divers old authentic histories and chronicles, it is manifestly declared and expressed that this kingdom of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted by the world, with plenary, whole and entire power, authority, prerogative and jurisdiction, and final determination in all causes." But such States meet equal rights in other States, for the conflict of which no solution is provided but war.

The idea has risen up indeed, at various times, of a modification of the autonomy of States by the erection of a court of arbitration, which would be a universal government upon this particular point ; but, though no well-guided State would disturb the world for secondary points, or refuse a neutral's judgment upon them, it is difficult to see how, upon a question vitally touching its own basis and safety, it could go upon any other sense of justice than its own. Take an individual, what a natural keen sense he has of the justice of his own case. How he is penetrated through with its grounds and reasons, into the full acquaintance with which he has grown gradually and naturally, having had time to see the facts in all their relations. An individual then certainly does accept the judgment of a neutral on his cause in the person of a judge, and surrender his own sense of the justice of his case ; but he is compelled to do so. A nation is not compelled to do this ; if it doubts then whether an indifferent spectator who would have to apply a hard, forced attention to its cause would do adequate justice to its rights, it is asking a great deal that it should give up its own rights to the judgment of that other. A nation knows it does justice to its own case ; it cannot be sure that another will do so. It is not partiality to self alone upon which the idea

is founded that you see your own cause best. There is an element of reason in this idea ; your judgment even appeals to you, that you must grasp most completely *yourself* what is so near to you, what so intimately relates to you ; what, by your situation, you have had such a power of searching into. The case is indeed something analogous to an individual surrendering his own moral judgment to another. He may do so if he is not certain ; but if he feels certain it is almost a contradiction to do so.

It may be said, why may not a nation give up its rights on a principle of humility and generosity as the individual does ? But to impose such humility as this on a nation would be to impose on it something quite different in ethical constitution from the same humility in an individual. An individual's abandonment of his rights is what the very words grammatically mean—the individual sacrificing himself ; but a nation's abandonment of its rights means the individual sacrificing the nation ; for the nation only acts through individuals. The individual is humble not for himself but for another, which is a very different thing.

It is thus that every prospect which the progress of society appears to open of eradicating war from the system of the world closes as soon as we examine it. It may indeed be admitted that, even under all the existing defects of the world's system, a great diminution of war might arise from an improvement in one particular in the public mind of nations ; their judgment in estimating the strength of rival national causes and movements. In an age, *e.g.*, when the clouds of war gather round the cause of national concentration, the interested neighbour-state that is conscious its own relative greatness is challenged by it should be able to calculate the strength of that cause and its susceptibility of resistance. We in this country, *e.g.*, have long had this measuring faculty with respect to the strength of our own internal public movements and causes ; an acute sense of their growth, and when they reach a point at which they cannot be resisted ; and thus civil war has been forestalled by opportune concession. Did such a subtle perception exist in nations with respect to the strength of these national causes outside of them, nations too could reasonably judge when these reached an irresistible strength ; and so war would be forestalled between nations.

It is the lack of such a perception as this to which we may trace the cause of the recent terrible war close to our shores. In that case, on the one side there were the fragments of a mighty nation determined to reunite ; and on the other side there was a splendid nation, accustomed to supremacy, resolved to prevent a combination which would challenge that proud position. But to stop that reunion was an impossibility ; that reunion was rooted in the action of a century, in a whole age of gradual drawing close ; it was too deeply fixed in the will of the people, had too strong a hold over their hearts ; it had turned the point of resistance. Yet this was what the other nation did not see ; one man alone saw it, and he was its Ruler. It came out afterwards, indeed, that even he had not the knowledge of particulars ; but he had that intuitive judgment and fine balancing faculty which sometimes acts in its place. He stood upon the shore, and to his importuning subjects, who bid him order back the wave, replied that he could not. But his will was not equal to his penetration, he did what, a thousand times before him, the acute, the discriminating, and the philosophic have done, gave way to the impetuous and blind ; and he had soon to retire from the uproar and conflict of empire, to mediate in solitude and isolation on the use of being wise.

But though nations may advance in judgment, what sign is there that the progress of society ever can alter the existing *plan of* the world, or rather want of plan, from which war comes, viz., a want of all head to the nations and states of the world, —that progress can give natural society a vertex which nature has not given ?

Are we then, progress failing us, to look for a cessation of war from the side of Christianity ? The question has often indeed been asked tauntingly, and it is a favourite fact which is called in evidence against revelation—Why has not Christianity done away with war ? But if an alteration in the system of the world would be necessary in order to stop war ; if there is an irregularity in the structure of natural society, a void and hiatus in the fabrick as it is—that is no deficiency which Christianity is required to correct. It is no part of the mission of Christianity to reconstruct the order of the world ; that is not its task, or its function. It assumes the world's system and its want of system ; its system as regards individuals,

its unsystematic condition as regards nations; it does not profess to provide another world for us to live in. Yet this is the work which those in reality impose upon it who ask triumphantly, why has not Christianity stopped war? Progress has not done it, within whose sphere it rather is. Without indeed any correction of the structure of the world, a universal change in the temper of mankind would stop war. But Christianity is not remedial to the whole of human nature, but only to those hearts that receive it.

It might, indeed, as well be asked—Why has not Christianity done away with civil government as carried on by force, and by the infliction of punishment, chains and death? Yet we do not blame it for not having substituted love for compulsion here; and why should we blame it for not having done so in the case of nations? War and civil force are branches of one common stock, however wide apart in their mode of demonstration. Civil government with its sword is a kind of war with man; war, with its settlement of questions, is a kind of government of man. Can we indeed historically separate civil government and war, with reference to the ultimate basis of the force which each respectively applies? Civil government has practically arisen out of conquest, and collected the scattered fragments of human society together, bound together independent tribes, and congregated mankind in a sufficient mass to admit of it. And yet, though apparently war yields neither to the secular principle nor the religious, but keeps its place in the future obstinately, some go on thinking of this world as advancing to some indefinite state of perfection.

Prophecy indeed has foretold the time when nations should beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, when nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But this total change pictured by the prophet does not in truth apply to war only; it applies just as much to the civil government of the world. He foresees a reign of universal love, when men will no longer act by terror and compulsion; but this is just as much against the chains and death of civil government as it is against war. Prophecy has two sides. On one side it says, a great renovation is coming, the slough of inveterate corruption will be cast off, peace and love will reign, and there

will be no more war. On the other hand, prophecy says, it will always be the same—things will go on as they do—the world will not change ; man will not cease to sin ; iniquity will abound up to the very end ; and there shall be wars ; nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. Such are the two voices. Separately, the one is all vision, the other all matter of fact. But we cannot take these two prophecies separately ; we must take them together ; they are two sides of a whole. Prophecy speaks as a whole, of which the oppositions are interpretations. A kingdom of peace there will be ; but when the prophet seems to associate this paradisal era with earth, then apparent prophecy is corrected by a later supplement. As we approach the Gospel time, the sublime and supernatural scene remains, but its locality alters. To the Jewish prophet earth was heaven ; they mixed together in one landscape ; but the two worlds under the Gospel light divided, and the visible was exchanged for the invisible, as the *place* of the prophetic realm of peace. With respect to this world, later or Gospel prophecy is, if one may say so, singularly unenthusiastic ; it draws no sanguine picture, is in no ecstacy about humanity, speaks of no regeneration of society here ; it uses the language of melancholy fact.

It was open to Christianity at starting to adopt and impose a higher law than the necessities of society allowed. Community of goods is better than the appropriation of them, and the renunciation of the sword better than the use of it, provided only these agree with the necessities of society. It was open, therefore, to Christianity to have prohibited property and war. But such a course would have been in the first place wrong, if we may so speak ; because the higher law which is right if it agrees with the necessities of society is wrong if it contradicts them ; and in the next place, though a sect can afford to be arbitrary and exclusive, and to disown natural rights, Christianity, if it had done so, would have been abandoning its mission to embrace the world. There was therefore an inauguration of an era, a symbolical fragment, an expression by action of the law of love, in the shape of a passing scene of community of goods ; but Christianity fundamentally assumed the right of property, and assumed the right of war. The right of property was open to the greatest abuses ; the right of war was a great evil to prevent a greater ; but they

were *necessary*—absolutely necessary, therefore Christianity did not shrink from them.

But Christianity at the same time only sanctions war through the medium of natural society and upon the hypothesis of a world at discord with herself. In her own world war would be impossible. And this mixture of Christianity with an alien hypothesis it is, which makes Christian war so portentous a fact—almost like a picture of Manichean dualism, in which the empires of light and darkness, order and confusion, spirit and matter, divine peace and self-conflicting uproar, coalesce in one creation. In Christian war, upon each one is the Holy Spirit's seal of peace, and on the mass wild nature's stamp of discord. It is indeed a humiliation, and we shrink back from it; but Christianity is obliged to act upon the assumption of that world which as a matter of fact exists, not upon the assumption of her own ideal world.

When Faustus, the Manichean, argued with Augustine for his own idea of Christianity against the Catholic one, he said in effect—I want to release Christianity from degrading alliances: *your* Gospel is too accommodating; it descends to the lowest connexions, and rises upon the very rudest basis of the Jewish law and its low and sanguinary morality; rid Christianity of this coarse foundation, and shift it to a basis of sublime Magianism instead, and I will join you. What Faustus objected to was the actual junction in which the Divine Spirit of revelation in the Jewish law placed itself with the rudimental and coarse ideas of a rude age. But though Divine revelation might have come out as a pure ethereal flame, floating in air to feed some few fastidious spirits, and neglecting the mass, that was not its temper; and Augustine declined to change the Jewish for a sublime Magian foundation for Christianity.

Now the rights of natural society are not to be put upon a par with the rude ideas of early ages; still Christianity does undoubtedly drag an enormous weight with her in the adoption of these natural rights with their consequences. We speak of Christianity joining the world in the age of Constantine; but indeed, antecedently to any particular relations to courts or states, Christianity is weighted with human nature; is burdened by having to act upon an alien hypothesis; and has to admit within its pale a state of relationships full of dreadful

disorder. Yet it stoops to conquer; it grapples with the coarse elements of human nature, descends to the dust with man, to raise him out of it; and accommodates its celestial birth to a worldly sojourn.

Lastly, Christianity comes as the consoler of the sufferings of war. The general only regards his men as masses, so much aggregate of force; he cannot afford to look at them in any other aspect; he has only two things to look at, the end and the means, he cannot pause between them to think of the life individual; it would carry him into interminable thought; it would be meditating as a sage, not acting; the idea is overwhelming, and it would paralyse him; he may admit it just for a moment, like Xerxes, but he must dismiss it instantly. No! force is all he has to do with; if he thinks of the persons, he totters; if he pities, he is gone. But the Church takes up the mass exactly where he left off; at the units in it—the persons. Every one of these had his hopes, his interests, his schemes, his prospects; but to some a wound, a loss of limb, in a moment altered all. Christianity comes to him as comforter, and shows how even that loss may be a gain. Every one of them has his home, where he is thought of, where he is somebody. If he has fallen, Christian hope alleviates the sorrow of that home. Thus the aspect of man as a mass was true for a purpose only, and false in itself. To some, to think of humanity as personal seems a dream and romance; that it is an aggregate, a whole, is the matter of fact; but to the Church this last is the dream, the first is the fact. Mankind is all mass to the human eye, and all individual to the Divine.

HENRY PARRY LIDDON (1829-1890)

THE central doctrine of Christianity is not continued existence after death but resurrection from the dead—a truth which Liddon emphatically and uncompromisingly preached. That is not, however, the theme of the present sermon. It was preached in St. Paul's Cathedral on December 14, 1879, and is to be found in the collection of Dr. Liddon's Advent sermons called *Advent in St. Paul's*. Liddon was apprehensive that, while a much larger place had come to be filled in the thoughts and lives of Churchmen by the doctrine of the Incarnation, the looking for the Second Coming of Christ to judgment was fading from the mind of a busy world. Quite recently, the eschatological character of the primitive Gospel has been forced on the attention of theologians by the "German reaction," of which Albert Schweitzer has been the leading exponent. Our Lord's message, it is held, was dominated by the prediction of His own immediate return and the catastrophic end of the world. This view is resisted principally by the "Liberal-Protestant" school, which regards Christ mainly as an ethical Teacher, whose precepts and example were slowly to leaven a world ever growing better and better. But both schools agree that the Church's Advent expectation is baseless. The promise, "I will come again and receive you unto myself," had not, and cannot have, any fulfilment.

Liddon, if this denial had been put forward from University Divinity chairs in his time, would certainly have said, in words used by him on another occasion, "Then let us turn the key in the west door of this cathedral, if Christ is not coming back in glory." There are few of his own Advent sermons which it would not have been necessary to tear up. The present sermon, however, might be excepted, dealing as it does, from

a singularly non-doctrinal standpoint, with the condition and apprehensions of the disembodied spirit, immediately after death. Comparison with Newman's *Dream of Gerontius* is obvious, but Liddon's " Five Minutes after Death " does not breathe the atmosphere of the imaginative and mysterious. Liddon was not a mystic, the so-called " French " cast of his mind inclining rather to what is lucid, systematic, clear-cut and logical. The Rt. Hon. George Russell observes of him—alluding, probably, to the present sermon :—" He was indeed a most vigorous thinker, but he did all his thinking in the terms of time and space. He did not shrink from applying temporal standards of measurement to the life of eternity." Mr. Russell also dwells on the periphrastic—what he rather boldly calls the journalistic—character of the diction of his " loved and honoured master," from which the concrete, pictorial, imagery of apocalypse was somewhat alien. Regarded merely as literary style, it was certainly wanting in the chaste austerity and simplicity which, coupled with loftiness, fragrance and beauty, make really noble writing. Liddon excelled in epigram. But, apart from his matter and the intensity behind it, the eloquence of the modern preacher is not, I think, comparable, from the point of view of literature, with that of Donne, Taylor or South.

Liddon's preaching, however, must be estimated from a higher point of view. Lord Acton in 1885 called him " the greatest power in the conflict with sin, and turning the souls of men to God, that the nation now possesses." Similarly Gladstone wrote :—" Dr. Liddon has been nearly the first to associate a great thinking force with the masteries of a first-rate preacher. May he not perhaps be called the first champion of belief ? " It was said, " Liddon carried us up to heaven and kept us there for an hour "—indeed, on one occasion it was for an hour and forty minutes. Seldom has an impassioned other-worldliness been so coupled with immense power of thought, language and delivery. But who can describe Liddon so well as the author of those *Personal Studies* from

which several quotations have already been made? Dr Scott Holland first speaks of old Oxford impressions, recalling—

"The thrill of that vibrant voice, alive with all the passion of the hour, vehement, searching, appealing, pleading, ringing ever higher as the great argument lifted him; the swift turns of the beautiful face, as he flung over us some burning ironic phrase or quivering challenge; the beads on the brow that told of the force expended; the grace, the movement, the fire, the sincerity of it all. It was wonderful to us."[1]

Again:—

"His immense success as a preacher never touched him. Surely never was there anyone so utterly and entirely free from the infirmities to which popular preachers are proverbially prone. We might be told by the 'Intellectuals' that he was a rhetorician. Intellectually he had the gifts of a splendid advocate. But . . . . we owned ourselves spellbound by the passionate sincerity of a man wholly committed to his belief, who had but one aim possessing him, the aim of dedicating every gift in his being to winning each soul before him into that allegiance to Christ his Master which was to him the sole and supreme interpretation of life, at once his awful joy and tremendous responsibility."[2]

Mr. Russell contrasts the cathedral in which Liddon preached to eager multitudes with the same building as described by Kingsley in *Yeast*:—

"The afternoon service was proceeding. The organ droned sadly in its iron cage to a few musical amateurs. Some nursery-maids and foreign sailors stared about within the spiked felon's-dock which shut off the body of the Cathedral, and tried in vain to hear what was going on inside the choir. The scanty service rattled in the vast building, like a dried kernel too small for its shell. The place breathed imbecility and unreality and sleepy life-in-death, while the whole nineteenth century went roaring on its way outside. And as

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 155. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

Lancelot thought of old St. Paul's, the morning star and focal beacon of England through centuries and dynasties, from Augustine and Mellitus up to those Paul's Cross sermons whose thunders shook thrones, and to Wren's noble masterpiece of art, he asked, ' Whither all this ? ' "

For all that, these great minsters were not built to be simply, or even principally, vast preaching-houses, and the demolition of the choir screen at St. Paul's was a liturgical and architectural mistake.

Liddon was the greatest figure of the Sub-Tractarian generation, yet with none of the modernizing and concessionist tendencies which mid-Victorian Highchurchmanship began to exhibit. Ecclesiastical and Oxonian to the backbone, his sympathies were with the ancient traditions, while the acute anguish caused him by the new theological departure—especially its abandonment of the inerrancy of Holy Scripture and of the infallibility of the Redeemer—hastened his end. But Liddon's travelled mind, and especially his relations with Eastern Christianity, gave him a wider horizon of personal knowledge than Keble and Pusey had possessed. It was the Eastern Question and the pro-Turkish sympathies of English Conservatives which tempted Liddon into politics, and brought it paradoxically about that a man whom Liberals regarded as a gloomy reactionary and mediævalist was sometimes numbered among them.

Five Minutes After Death [1]

Then shall I know even as also I am known.—1 Corinthians xiii, 12.

An Indian officer, who in his time had seen a great deal of service, and had taken part in more than one of those decisive struggles by which the British authority was finally established in the East Indies, had returned to end his days in this country, and was talking with his friends about the most striking experiences of his professional career. They led him, by their sympathy and their questions, to travel in memory through

[1] This sermon is printed here by permission of Messrs. Longman.

a long series of years ; and as he described skirmishes, battles, sieges, personal encounters, hair-breadth escapes, the outbreak of the Mutiny and its suppression, reverses, victories—all the swift alternations of anxiety and hope which a man must know who is entrusted with command and is before the enemy, their interest in his story, as was natural, became keener and more exacting. At last he paused with the observation, " I expect to see something much more remarkable than anything I have been describing." As he was some seventy years of age, and was understood to have retired from active service, his listeners failed to catch his meaning. There was a pause ; and then he said in an undertone, " I mean in the first five minutes after death."

" The first five minutes after death ! " Surely the expression is worth remembering, if only as that of a man to whom the life to come was evidently a great and solemn reality. " The first five minutes." If we may employ for the moment when speaking of eternity standards of measurement which belong to time, it is at least conceivable that, after the lapse of some thousands or tens of thousands of years, we shall have lost all sense of a succession in events ; that existence will have come to seem to be only a never-ceasing present ; an unbegun and unending *now*. It is, I say, at least conceivable that this will be so ; but can we suppose that at the moment of our entrance on that new and wonderful world we shall already think and feel as if we had always been there, or had been there, at least, for ages ?

There is, no doubt, an impression sometimes to be met with that death is followed by a state of unconsciousness.

> " If sleep and death be truly one
> And every spirit's folded bloom,
> Through all its intervital gloom,
> In some long trance should slumber on,
>
> " Unconscious of the sliding hour,
> Bare of the body, might it last,
> And all the traces of the past
> Be all the colour of the flower."

But that is a supposition which is less due to the exigencies of reason than to the sensitiveness of imagination. The imagination recoils from the task of anticipating a moment so full of awe and wonder as must be that of the introduction of a conscious spirit to the invisible world. And, accordingly,

the reason essays to persuade itself, if it can, that life after death will not be conscious life, although it is difficult to recognize a single reason why, if life, properly speaking, survives at all, it should forfeit consciousness. Certainly the life of the souls under the heavenly altar, who intercede perpetually with God for the approach of the Last Judgment, is not an unconscious life. Certainly the Paradise which our Lord promised to the dying thief cannot be reasonably imagined to have been a moral and mental slumber, any more than can those unembodied ministers of God who do His pleasure, who are sent forth to minister to them that are the heirs of salvation, be supposed to reach a condition no higher than that which is produced by chloroform. No, this supposition of an unconscious state after death is a discovery, not of revelation, not of reason, but of desire ; of a strong desire on the one hand to keep a hold on immortality, and on the other to escape the risks which immortality may involve. It cannot well be doubted that consciousness—if not retained to the last in the act of dying, if suspended by sleep, or by physical disease, or by derangement—must be recovered as soon as the act of death is completed, with the removal of the cause which suspended it. Should this be the case, the soul will enter upon another life with the habits of thought which belong to time still clinging to it ; they will be unlearnt gradually, if at all, in the after-ages of existence. And, assuredly, the first sense of being in another world must be overwhelming. Imagination can, indeed, form no worthy estimate of it ; but we may do well to try to think of it as best we can this afternoon, since it is at least one of the approaches to the great and awful subject which should be before our thoughts at this time of the year, namely, the Second Coming of Jesus Christ to Judgment. And here the Apostle comes to our assistance with his anticipation of the future life, as a life of enormously enhanced knowledge : " Then shall I know even as also I am known." He is thinking, no doubt, of that life as a whole, and not of the first entrance on it, immediately after death. No doubt, also, he is thinking of the high privileges of the blessed, whose knowledge, we may presume to say, with some great teachers of the Church, will be thus vast and comprehensive because they will see all things in God, as in the ocean of truth. But it cannot be supposed that an increase of knowledge after death

will be altogether confined to the blessed. The change itself must bring with it the experience which is inseparable from a new mode of existence ; it must unveil secrets ; it must discover vast tracts of fact and thought for every one of the sons of men. Let us try to keep it before our minds, reverently and earnestly, for a few minutes ; and let us ask ourselves, accordingly, what will be the most startling additions to our existing knowledge at our first entrance on the world to come.

First, then, at our entrance on another state of being, we shall know what it is to exist under entirely new conditions. Here we are bound up—we hardly suspect, perhaps, how intimately—in thought and affection, with the persons and objects around us. They influence us subtly and powerfully in a thousand ways ; in some cases they altogether shape the course of life. In every life, it has been truly said, much more is taken for granted than is ever noticed. The mind is eagerly directed to the few persons and subjects which affection or interest force prominently upon its notice ; it gazes inertly at all the rest. As we say, it does not take them in, until some incident arises which forces them one by one into view. A boy never knows what his home was worth until he has gone for the first time to school ; and then he misses, and as he misses he eagerly recollects and realises, all that he has left behind him. Who of us that has experienced it can ever forget those first hours at school after leaving home ; that moment when the partings were over, and the carriage drove away from the door, and we heard the last of the wheels and of the horses as they went round the corner, and then turned to find ourselves in a new world, among strange faces and in strange scenes, and under a new and perhaps sterner government ? Then, for the first time, and at a distance from it, we found out what our home had been to us. It was more to us in memory than it had ever been while we were in it. All that we saw, and heard, and had to do, and had to give up, at school presented a contrast which stimulated our memories of what had been the rule of home—of its large liberty, of its gentle looks and words, of its scenes and haunts, which had taken such a hold on our hearts without our knowing it. It was too much ; we had to shrink away into some place where we could be alone, and recover ourselves as best we could before we were

able to fall in with the ways of our new life. No doubt, in time, habit did its work; habit turned school, I will not say into a second home, but into a new and less agreeable kind of home. And, as the years passed, we saw repeated again and again in the case of others that which we had experienced at first, and with a vividness that did not admit of repetition in ourselves.

This may enable us, in a certain sense, to understand what is in store for all of us at our entrance, by dying, into the unseen world. I do not, of course, mean that this life is our home, and that the future at all necessarily corresponds to school as being an endless banishment. God forbid! If we only will have it, the exact reverse of this shall be the case. But the parallel will so far hold good that at death we must experience a sense of strangeness to which nothing in this life has ever approached. Not merely will the scene be new—to us as yet it is unimaginable; not merely will the beings around us, the shapes, forms, conditions of existence, be strange—they are as yet inconceivable; but we ourselves shall have undergone a change; a change so complete that we cannot here and now anticipate its full meaning. We shall exist, thinking and feeling and exercising memory and will and understanding; but—without bodies. Think what that means. We are at present at home in the body; we have not yet learnt, by losing it, what the body is to us. The various activities of the soul are sorted out and appropriated by the several senses of the body, so that the soul's action from moment to moment is made easy, we may well conceive, by being thus distributed. What will it be to compress all that the senses now achieve separately into a single act; to see, but without these eyes; to hear, but without these ears; to experience something purely supersensuous that shall answer to the grosser senses of taste and smell; and to see, hear, smell, and taste by a single movement of the spirit, combining all these separate modes of apprehension into one? What will it be to find ourselves with the old self, divested of this body which has clothed it since its first moment of existence; able to achieve, it may be so much, it may be so little; living on, but under conditions so totally new? This experience alone will add no little to our existing knowledge; and the addition will have been made in the first five minutes after death.

And the entrance on the next world must bring with it a knowledge of God such as is impossible in this life. In this life many men talk of God, and some men think much and deeply about Him. But here men do not attain to that sort of direct knowledge of God which the Bible calls "sight." We do not see a human soul. The soul makes itself felt in conduct, in conversation, in the lines of the countenance; although these often enough mislead us. The soul speaks through the eye, which misleads us less often. That is to say, we know that the soul is there, and we detect something of its character and power and drift. We do not see it. In the same way we feel God present in nature, whether in its awe or its beauty; and in human history, whether in its justice or its weird mysteriousness; and in the life of a good man, or the circumstances of a generous or noble act. Most of all we feel Him near when conscience, His inward messenger, speaks plainly and decisively to us. Conscience, that invisible prophet, surely appeals to and implies a law, and a law implies a legislator. But we do not see Him. "No man hath seen God at any time"; even "the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father," is only said to have "declared Him," since in Him the Godhead was veiled from earthly sight by that mantle of Flesh and Blood which, together with a human soul, He assumed in time. Certainly great servants of God have been said to see Him even in this life. Thus Job: "I have heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear: but now mine eye seeth Thee." Thus David: "As for me, I will behold Thy presence in righteousness." Thus Isaiah "beheld" while the glory of the Lord filled the Temple. Thus S. John, when he saw the risen Saviour in His glory, fell at His feet as dead. These are either preternatural anticipations of the future life vouchsafed to exceptionally good men, or they are, as with Job, cases in which men are said to see God only in a relative sense. Sight does not mean anything spiritual which corresponds fully to the action of the bodily eye, but only a much higher degree of perception than had been possible in a lower spiritual state. Of the children of men in this moral state the rule holds good that no one hath seen God at any time.

But after death there will be a change. It is said of our Lord's glorified manhood, united as it is for ever to the Person

of the Eternal Son, that " every eye shall see Him, and they also which pierced Him." Even the lost will then understand much more of what God is to the universe and to themselves, although they are for ever excluded from the direct vision of God. And they, too, will surely see God who are waiting for the full glories of the sight to be vouchsafed to them after an intermediate time of discipline and training in the state which Scripture calls Paradise. The spirit of man, we cannot doubt, will be much more conscious of the spirits around it, and of the Father of spirits, than was possible while it was encased in the body. God will no longer be to it a mere abstraction, a First Cause, a First Intelligence, a Supreme Morality, the Absolute, the Self-Existent, the Unconditioned Being. He will no longer reveal Himself to the strained tension of human thought, as one by one His attributes are weighed and balanced and reconciled and apportioned, after such poor fashion and measure as is possible for the finite mind when dealing with the Infinite. None of us will any more play with phrases about Him to which nothing is felt to correspond in thought or fact. He will be there, before us. " We shall see Him as He is." His vast illimitable Life will present itself to the apprehension of our spirits as a clearly consistent whole ; not as a complex problem to be painfully mastered by the effort of our understandings, but as a present, living, encompassing Being, Who inflicts Himself on the very sight of His adoring creatures. What will that first apprehension of God, under the new conditions of the other life, be ? There are trustworthy accounts of men who have been utterly overcome at the first sight of a fellow-creature with whose name and work they had for long years associated great wisdom or goodness, or ability. The first sight of the earthly Jerusalem has endowed more than one traveller with a perfectly new experience in the life of thought and feeling. What must not be the first direct sight of God, the Source of all beauty, of all wisdom, of all power, when the eye opens upon Him after death ! " Thine eyes shall see the King in His beauty " were words of warning as well as words of promise. What will it not be to see Him in those first few moments—God, the Eternal Love, God, the consuming Fire—as we shall see Him in the first five minutes after death !

Once more ; at our entrance on another world we shall

know our own selves as never before. The past will lie spread out before us, and we shall take a comprehensive survey of it. Each man's life will be displayed to him as a river, which he traces from its source in a distant mountain till it mingles with the distant ocean. The course of that river lies, sometimes through dark forests which hide it from view, sometimes through sands or marshes in which it seems to lose itself. Here it forces a passage angrily between precipitous rocks, there it glides gently through meadows which it makes green and fertile. At one while it might seem to be turning backwards out of pure caprice: at another to be parting, like a gay spendthrift, with half its volume of waters; while later on it receives contributory streams that restore its strength and so it passes on, till the ebb and flow of the tides upon its bank tells that the end is near. What will not the retrospect be when, after death, we survey, for the first time, as with a bird's-eye view, the whole long range—the strange vicissitudes, the loss and gain, as we deem it, the failures and the triumphs of our earthly existence; when we measure it, as never before, in its completeness, now that it is at last over!

This, indeed, is the characteristic of the survey after death, that it will be complete.

> "There no shade can last,
> In that deep dawn behind the tomb,
> But clear from marge to marge shall bloom
> The eternal landscape of the past."

That survey of life which is made by the dying is less than complete; it cannot include the closing scene of all. While there is life there is room for recovery, and the hours which remain may be very different from those which have preceded.

It may be thought that to review life will take as long a time as to live it; but this notion betrays a very imperfect idea of the resource and capacity of the human soul. Under the pressure of great feeling, the soul lives with a rapidity and intensity which disturb all its usual relations to time; witness the reports which those who have nearly lost their lives by drowning have made of their mental experiences. It once happened to me to assist at the recovery of a man who nearly forfeited his life while bathing. He had sunk the last time, and there was difficulty in getting him to land, and when he was landed still greater difficulty in restoring him. Happily there

was skilled assistance at hand, and so presently my friend recovered, not without much distress, first one and then another of the sensations and faculties of his bodily life. In describing his experience of what must have been the whole conscious side of the act of dying by drowning, he said that the time had seemed to him of very great duration ; he had lost his standard of the worth of time. He had lived his whole past life over again ; he had not epitomized it ; he had repeated it, as it seemed to him, in detail and with the greatest deliberation. He had great difficulty in understanding that he had only been in the water for a few minutes. During these intenser moments of existence the life of the soul has no sort of relation to what we call time.

Yes, in entering another world we shall know what we have been in the past as never before ; but we shall know also what we are. The soul, divested of the body, will see itself as never before ; and it may be that it will see disfigurements and ulcers which the body, like a beautiful robe, had hitherto shrouded from the sight, and which are revealed in this life only by the shock of a great sorrow or of a great fall. There is a notion abroad—a notion which is welcomed because, whether true or not, it is very comfortable—that the soul will be so changed by death as to lose the disfigurements which it may have contracted through life ; that the death agony is a furnace, by being plunged into which the soul will burn out its stains : or that death involves such a shock as to break the continuity of our moral condition, though not of existence itself ; and thus that, in changing worlds, we shall change our characters, and that moral evil will be buried with the body in the grave, while the soul escapes, purified by separation from its grosser companion, to the regions of holiness and peace.

Surely, brethren, this is an illusion which will not stand the test—we need not for the moment say of Christian truth, but—of reasonable reflexion. It is a contradiction to all that we know about the character and mind of man, in which nothing is more remarkable than the intimate and enduring connexion which subsists between its successive states or stages of development. Every one of us here present is now exactly what his past life has made him. Our present thoughts, feelings, mental habits, good and bad, are the effects of what we have done or left undone, of cherished impressions, of passions

indulged or repressed, of pursuits vigorously embraced or willingly abandoned. And as our past mental and spiritual history has made us what we are, so we are at this very moment making ourselves what we shall be. I do not forget that intervention of a higher force which we call "grace," and by which the direction of a life may be suddenly changed, as in S. Paul's case at his conversion; although these great changes are often prepared for by a long preceding process, and are not so sudden as they seem. But we are speaking of the rule, and not of the exception. The rule is that men are in each stage of their existence what, with or without God's supernatural grace, they have made themselves in the preceding stages; and there is no reasonable ground for thinking that at death the influence of a whole lifetime will cease to operate upon character, and that, whatever those influences may have been, the soul will be purified by the shock of death. Why, I ask, should death have any such result? What is there in death to bring it about? Death is the dissolution of the bodily frame; of the limbs and organs through which the soul now acts. These organs are, no doubt, very closely connected with the soul, which strikes its roots into them and acts through them. But, although closely connected with the soul, they are distinct from it: thought, conscience, affection, will, are quite independent of the organs which are dissolved by death. And it is impossible to see why the soul should put on a new character simply because it lays aside for awhile the instrument which it has employed during a term of years, any more than why a painter's right hand should forget its cunning because he has sold his easel, or why a murderer in fact should cease to be a murderer at heart because he has lost his dagger and cannot afford to replace it. True, at death, the ear, the eye, the hands perish. But when they are destroyed in this life by an accident, does character change with them? The indulgence of the purely animal appetite may depend on the healthy condition of the organ; but the mental condition which permits, if it does not dictate, the indulgence remains unaffected. Principles of right action or their opposites outlive the faculties, as they outlive the opportunities for asserting themselves in act. The habit of thieving is not renounced because the right hand has been cut off; nor are sensual dispositions because the body is prostrate through illness;

nor is evil curiosity because the eye is dim and the ear deaf. And when all the instruments through which in this life the soul has expressed itself, and which collectively make up the body, are laid aside by the emphatic act of death, the soul itself, and all its characteristic thought and affections, will remain unaffected, since its life is independent of its bodily envelope as is the body's life of the clothes which we wear.

One Being there is Who knows us now, Who knows us perfectly, Who has always known us. When we die we shall for the first time know ourselves, even as also we are known. We shall not have to await the Judge's sentence ; we shall read it at a glance, whatever it be, in this new apprehension of what we are.

It may help us, then, to think from time to time of what will be our condition in the first five minutes after death. Like death itself, the solemnities which follow it must come to all of us. We know not when, or where, or how we shall enter on it ; this only we know—that come it must. Those first five minutes, that first awakening to a new existence, with its infinite possibilities, will only be tolerable if we have indeed, with the hands of faith and love, laid hold on the hope set before us, in the Person of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, Who for us men and for our salvation took flesh, and was crucified and rose from death, and ascended into heaven, and has pleaded incessantly at the right hand of the Father for us, the weak and erring children of the Fall. Without him, a knowledge of that new world, of its infinite and awful Master, still more of ourselves as we really are, will indeed be terrifying. With Him we may trust that such knowledge will be more than bearable ; we may think calmly even of that tremendous experience if He, the Eternal God, is indeed " our Refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms."

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